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THE GRAMMARIAN'S CRAFT*

A Professional Talk.

THE problem which I am going to discuss has occupied my mind for a long time. Years ago I was playing with the idea of a symposium on the Possibility of Exact Research Methods in the Humanities. Since I have had no opportunity of putting this idea into effect I have decided to set forth my views in a less pretentious form.

There is no demand for another manual of "Ecdotics" besides those extant. However, workers in various fields—theologians, historians, neo-philologists, and others—who could not be expected to plough through the highly technical books written by and for classical or biblical scholars might wish to form an opinion on the problems involved in the editing of ancient and medieval texts. The philosopher and the scientist and even the educated layman will take some interest at least in the fundamental problem, which—as I am trying to prove—is essentially human. I therefore present my subject in the form of a talk, and in non-technical language; scholarly discussion of details has been relegated to the footnotes.

A select bibliography will be given at the end of this essay. Those who know the subject will realize that my debt to the works listed is far greater than might be guessed from my references. These readers will also understand my reasons for making no other than a summary acknowledgment.

*The Editors of *Folia* have approached me about a re-issue of the article "The Grammarian's Craft," which was first published in this periodical ten years ago. They have also given me the welcome opportunity of a revision. In the text hardly anything seemed to require a change. In the notes I have inserted references to recent literature, in particular to the excellent book of A. Dain, *Les Manuscrits,* and to a work which, unpardonably, I had overlooked—Professor Pasquali's *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo,* now in its second edition. It has been a pleasant duty to record my essential agreement with these distinguished scholars.

I wish to thank the Editors of *Folia* very sincerely for taking the rather unusual step of this "revival." I do hope my article will help scholars in many fields, and especially the younger ones among us, to realize more fully the satisfaction and the responsibilities that are inherent in the editing of texts.

L. B.

My views are derived primarily from practical work on texts, and not from the study of theories. It is only natural that I should often arrive at the same conclusions as others who must have had the same experiences. Needless to say I have studied carefully modern discussions of the editorial problem, but I did so in the light of the lessons which I was taught by editorial work.

Experts will not fail to detect gaps and inequalities in my treatment of the subject; some of my readers will perhaps disagree in taking a broader view of the grammarian's task. With the latter it would be useless to argue; to the former I merely reply that if my essay dealt with its subject systematically it would no longer be what I call it: a professional talk.

1

If I were to choose a name for my profession as I understand it, I would call myself a grammarian. No other name could be more appropriate for linking up my work with the past. The craft which we grammarians are practicing has behind it a tradition of more than two thousand years. It is the art of preserving literary texts from corruption and oblivion by means of criticism and interpretation.

The *ars grammatica* is an invention of the Greeks. Its roots extend into the early history of Greek civilization; as a distinct profession it is first recognizable in the Hellenistic period. As early as the first century B. C., it had struck firm roots in Rome; but it was in its earliest stronghold, Alexandria, that it entered into the intellectual life of the Church. The most famous scholar of ancient Christianity, Origen, became a model for St. Jerome, who was himself a disciple of the Latin grammarian Donatus.[1] Sanctioned by the example of St. Jerome, our craft remained henceforth part of the inheritance of Western Christendom. Cassiodorus in the sixth century, Lupus of Ferrières in the ninth, Gerbert, John of Salisbury, and Trithemius mark its way through the Middle Ages in the West as do Photios, Tzetzes, Eustathios, and others in the East. The rediscovery of the Greek classics during the Italian Renaissance opened the way to modern humanism, which is largely a revival of the ancient grammarian's craft.

It is not my intention to sketch, however briefly, a History of Classical Scholarship; suffice it to say that the grammarian applied his art step by step to ever more varied subjects, until in the end it became a universal method for the reconstruction and study of any text in any language. Throughout its history, however, it remained an "art" in the ancient meaning of the term: something that partakes of both spontaneous creation and mechanical routine—for which I find no better word in the English language than "craft."

Neither the *grammaticus* of old nor the humanist of more recent times would, as a rule, confine his activities to the handling of texts. In principle at least, if not necessarily in practice, his craft has always been related to education. Homer appeared to the ancients as the schoolmaster of all Hellas, and Virgil has been praised by one of the greatest essayists of our time [2] as Father of the Occident. The study of great literature was considered the surest way toward true humanity by Cicero and Quintilian,[3] and the same opinion is held by the most far-seeing and broad-minded of modern educators—Cardinal Newman, or Jacques Maritain, or the late Edward Kennard Rand. It is against this background that the editorial and exegetical efforts of the great Alexandrians and their followers throughout the ages shine in their true light. To combine *Forschung* and *Lehre* has been part of the humanistic tradition down the centuries, and if some of the greatest scholars were not the best teachers or perhaps did not teach at all, their ultimate aim, at least implicitly, has always been the formation of the human mind and character.

Varied as may be the grammarian's interests and functions in the wide sphere of human culture, the special abilities required for his profession converge on textual criticism and exegesis: *distinguere emendare adnotare,* as Suetonius said of Marcus Valerius Probus.[4] However greatly the modern grammarian may differ from his colleague of the past, his basic work is still accurately described by the ancient triad. The grammarian's work culminates in editorship—the severest test to which his vocation can be put, and the very core of his craft. Editorship, with all is implications, will be the main subject of my talk.

2

Most people are under the impression that to edit a text is something rather dull and boring. Only those who have tried will know that it can be a fascinating task and, sometimes, even a thrilling adventure. Drudgery there is in abundance, as in every art and craft, but it is amply rewarded by the prospects that are thus opened. And even the road to the sources need not be as dreary as might be suspected from Faust's rebuke of his pedantic factotum Wagner for his enthusiasm about scraps of old vellum. Palaeography, in Goethe's time still a humble servant to history and literature, has come into its own and, in the hands of Ludwig Traube and his disciples, has proved a magic wand, restoring, as it were, the breath of life to the dead letter. How far from mechanical can be even a subordinate technical process as the collation of manuscripts may be learned from Silva New (afterwards Silva Lake), an expert on the textual history of the Greek New Testament:

> For many purposes collation with the Textus Receptus is best, but for a mixed text the most instructive method is to collate it with a pure representative of one of its component parts. . . . The text chosen to collate against acts as a filter to strain out the element akin to it, and the application of the process will reveal a series (though a necessarily incomplete one) of the readings of the other text. (*Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts*, Harvard Theological Studies 17, 1932, p. 78.)

Critical methods of editorship are the one thing in which we have definitely surpassed not only the ancient grammarians, but also the humanists of the period from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. We are no longer content with a text based on one or two manuscripts chosen at random and corrected according to the editor's fancy.[5] Not only do we expect an editor to survey all extant manuscripts of his text, to date and localize them as far as possible,[6] and to trace their subsequent history; we demand of him also a minute study of their dependence on each other, and a *Textgeschichte*—a history of the transmission

of that particular text.[7] All this forms part of the *recensio,* on which, according to Carl Lachmann, the *emendatio* must be based.[8]

Lachmann's postulate was accepted as binding by generations of scholars and so was his method, which aimed at a *stemma codicum*—a pedigree or family tree of all the manuscripts of a text, showing at a glance their relations and thus guiding the editor in his search of a text as near to the original as possible. Once the archetype—the text immediately underlying our manuscript tradition—was established, nothing remained for the editor but to examine this text as to its intrinsic merits and, where necessary, to restore the original by conjectural emendation.

In recent years the validity of this method has been called in question; a result of this *critique de la méthode* is the crisis of textual criticism which we are witnessing. The methodic criticism to which I am referring—French in origin as might be expected—has revealed certain fallacies inherent in Lachmann's method; it aims at a more objective and, as it were, scientific procedure in the establishment of texts. For a discussion of these ideas it is necessary to recall briefly the successive stages of the editorial process and the pitfalls which each of them has in store.

3

The preliminary task of surveying and collating the manuscripts of a text requires diligence and accuracy, and a certain routine which comes with experience; otherwise it is generally unproblematical.[9]

Things are very different, however, as soon as we proceed to a classification of those manuscripts. To classify the manuscripts of a text can mean two different things: we may be content to divide them into larger or smaller groups, or we may attempt to determine their mutual dependence more accurately and give each of them its place in a stemma or pedigree. On principle, editors should aim at the stricter form of classification, but this will not always be possible. Abundance of manuscript evidence, resulting from the wide circulation of a text during the Middle Ages, is in itself no obstacle, but it may inflict on the editor a vast amount of work without adequate reward. In prac-

tice it will often be found that for the reconstruction of the genuine text only a small number of manuscripts need to be consulted, because the bulk especially of late medieval manuscripts gives some sort of "vulgate." This is normally the case with regard to ancient texts that were frequently studied during the Middle Ages, e.g., the poems of Virgil and Horace, or Boethius', *Consolation of Philosophy*.[10] Yet, in theory at least, this "vulgate" should also be critically restored and take its place along with the other witnesses.

A more serious impediment is created if various branches of the text tradition are intermingling; worse still, if texts were re-edited with almost every transcription—as were many late medieval school texts and tracts on practical subjects — or were allowed to grow wild—as was the majority of popular literature: legends, romances, fables, *exempla*. The *Disticha Catonis*, Aesop, the Romance of Alexander, the *Navigatio Brendani* may serve as illustrations. If this is the case, it will often be impossible to link up the manuscripts in terms of affiliation; we can at best achieve a more or less satisfactory grouping, and even this is sometimes difficult.[11] Each of the several "recensions" of a text may be a different mixture of the same primitive elements, resembling a set of photos printed one on top of the other in varying order. It may be fascinating to separate the strata, but to declare one of them as original will often be illusive. Cases in point are the Old Latin versions of the Bible and the legend of St. Patrick.

How does the editor arrive at a pedigree of his manuscripts? Mainly by the detection of common errors in part of the tradition. The term "error" is used here with a wide meaning: it stands not only for a real blunder, but for any variant inferior to its alternative. It is implied that the same mistake will rarely be made several times independently in the same place. We are thus assured only of a certain probability; however, as the number of witnesses increases, their combined evidence may amount to moral certainty. Probability will vary also with the nature of the mistake: an extravagant blunder in which several manuscripts agree proves more for their relation than does an omission by *homoioteleuton*.[12]

This is the fundamental difficulty involved in the classification by common errors; it comes to the surface again and again

in various guises. Rules there are in abundance to guide us, but they cannot be applied blindly. One rule says that if a manuscript, B, has all the errors of an earlier manuscript, A, and in addition at least one error of its own, then B must be a copy of A.[13] Must it necessarily? All depends on the probability of a mistake being made in B, or being corrected in A.[14] For all that we know the two manuscripts may be twins—especially if the interval in time is not great—with the only difference that one scribe knew the language of his text or the script of his exemplar better than the other. In some cases we can decide. If an early medieval manuscript has suffered mutilation (which may range from a torn-off corner to the loss of several quires) and a Renaissance copy has the same omissions in its current text, the latter's dependence on the former is firmly established. But here external evidence has come to our help, which is not often the case.[15] Let us suppose, on the other hand, that two continental manuscripts of the same text, A and B, both of ninth century date, have a number of errors in common, and B some individual errors in addition to these; further, that the common errors of A and B are in their majority due to misreading of insular script, and that some at least of the surplus errors in B demonstrably have the same cause: then we can merely conclude that the scribe of A was more familiar with the script of his exemplar than was the scribe of B; and, whilst grouping the two manuscripts together, we must leave their relationship an open question.

Decision becomes still more difficult where none of the contesting variants is in itself faulty. Here we should speak of primary and secondary readings rather than of correct and faulty ones. By definition the secondary reading must be explainable by the primary one, but not vice versa; in practice, however, the rule will often be found to work both ways. The principle *brevis lectio potior* has been attacked by Professor Albert C. Clark; [16] another famous principle *lectio difficilior praeferenda* has been scorned by so eminent a scholar as Ulrich von Wilamowitz. It needs no great sagacity to see that it is easier to leave out than to invent, or that perfect nonsense is more difficult to explain than anything that makes sense. Yet, it is merely the general application of these principles that provoked the attack; in their

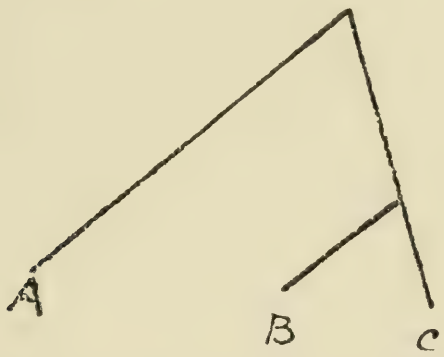
proper spheres they are both quite legitimate. Again the individual factors come into play: the nature of the text, and the conditions under which it was propagated. The "actors' interpolations" in Greek drama [17] are one extreme, the "western non-interpolations" in the text of the New Testament are another. A classical writer may conceivably suffer from *interpolatio ecclesiastica* at the hands of a medieval copyist; the editor of an average medieval text, however, will always have to reckon with the possibility that the more conventional phrase is genuine and an urbane equivalent is the work of an ambitious "editor." Sometimes an obvious blunder will lead to the original text more directly than the "plainer" variant.[18]

It is even possible that of two unobjectionable readings neither is genuine. Assuming merely the coincidence of some common clerical errors, I have constructed the following case. A text originally written in insular script contained the words *paganus autem dixit,* followed by direct speech. In the original, the word *autem* was represented by its tachygraphic symbol, which a continental copyist mistook for the symbol for *hoc.* This in turn was copied by two scribes—correctly as *hoc* by one, erroneously as *homo* by the other; *hoc* in a subsequent copy became *hec.* Let us now suppose that we possess only two manuscripts of our hypothetical text, offering *hec* and *homo* respectively. None of our rules would enable us to establish the original; and if some critic were keen enough to guess the genuine reading behind these variants, his argumentation would probably be found far-fetched and unconvincing. We must use our rules with discretion—as guides, not as principles. *Principiis obsta,* "resist principles"—as Ludwig Radermacher, in one of his lighter moods, advised his students.

The *recensio,* even if successful, does not yet give absolute certainty about the archetype. We may dismiss as exceptional the possibility that our pedigree of manuscripts does not hold good for some section of the text, e.g., the *lemmata* in commentaries, and merely consider some frequent patterns of *stemmata* and what they teach us.

Supposing that all manuscripts of a text depend on two copies which we still possess: their agreement clearly represents the archetype; but what about their disagreement? If the archetype

has to be reconstructed from three manuscripts descending from the common source independently, the agreement of any two against the third will normally be decisive, but not always; and we are left in the dark where each of the three has a different reading. If two of our three manuscripts are derived from an intermediate copy now lost,



we may follow safely the agreement of AB against C and of AC against B; where A stands against BC, the pedigree offers no help, and the same is true of complete disagreement among the three witnesses. In the case of four independent witnesses derived from the archetype either directly or in pairs through intermediate copies the evidence of three against one must be accepted unless there are grave reasons for the contrary; however, two witnesses may oppose the other two, and this is most awkward if the partial agreement runs counter to a subdivision.[19] If three variants are scattered over four manuscripts, the support given to a reading by two manuscripts will have some weight, but not too much. Lastly, if three out of four manuscripts are derived from an intermediate exemplar, our method would allow us to accept the *consensus* of the one independent manuscript with any of the other three as decisive; if none of the three agrees with the one that stands apart, the sub-archetype has to be reconstructed from the triad and its hypothetical reading has to be confronted with the fourth witness. In all instances that remain undecided the variants have to be weighed against each other; if none is intrinsically better, we can only follow the manuscript or manuscripts which are on the whole more trustworthy. The latter course has often to be taken for the lack of a better one, and, to quote A. E. Housman, in a spirit of gloomy resignation.

With the patterns to which I have referred the possibilities even of three or four constituents only are by no means exhausted. Moreover, we have assumed that manuscripts which do not belong to a subgroup have come down from the archetype directly, i.e., without intervening copies now lost. Once the existence of such copies is admitted, new possibilities must be considered. Two manuscripts of a text may be copies of an exemplar which is derived immediately from the archetype, whereas the one that stands alone is perhaps separated from its source by a number of consecutive transcripts which are no longer extant. This question must be asked especially where a single manuscript of late date is opposed by a group of earlier ones. For the valuation of variants it is also important to form some opinion on the date of lost mediators and the script in which they are written.

These problems form part of the *Textgeschichte,* the history of the transmission of a text. No editor should hurry over this stage of his work. Textual history is complementary to the *recensio codicum*; it is always illuminating, often indispensable. It helps to bridge the gulf between archetype and original, which are often separated by centuries, as is the rule with texts of classical antiquity. Medieval literature is generally preserved in manuscripts not too far removed from their originals; here textual history is valuable mainly because it enables us to interpret historically the bare data of the *recensio*. The history of a text is based not only on the variants of extant manuscripts, but also on external evidence (the more so the better) and on indirect tradition as afforded by quotations, extracts, retractations, imitations. Sometimes—as is the case of the New Testament—*Textgeschichte* acts as a corrective of the *recensio*.[20]

4

If in spite of elaborate methods the reconstruction of the archetype—still more of the original—is so uncertain, we must not be surprised to see the value of these methods questioned. Some scholars have gone so far as to forego any attempt at a classification of manuscripts; they prefer to single out one manuscript that is on the whole more satisfactory than the rest and to follow this *codex optimus* except where it is defective or un-

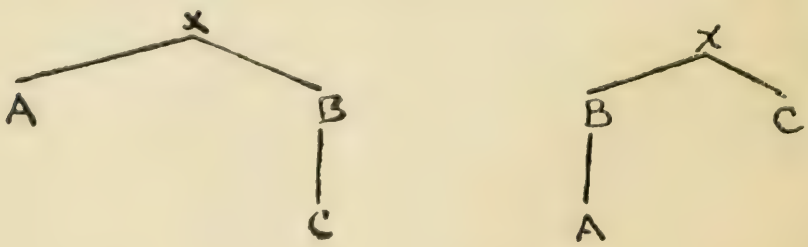
intelligible; there, and there only, they would have recourse to other manuscripts or to emendation at their own risk. This practice had no less a champion than Professor Bédier.[21] It has been hailed in certain quarters, especially among neo-philologists, as more scientific than the eclectic method with its fallacies and its subjectivism.[22] To be sure, it does away with a great deal of trouble—but is it really safer or more objective? Unless an extant manuscript is demonstrably the original or at least the archetype (in which event it would be treated as unique no matter what method the editor adopts), the choice for a basic text of one manuscript rather than another rests on the same subjective considerations as does the old-fashioned *stemma codicum*; and if the *textus unius codicis* is safe from the fallacies of *recensio,* it has admittedly no determinable relation to the original—in other words, it is deliberately uncritical. The inevitable improvements upon the basic manuscript must then be arbitrary, even if the editor has tact and taste; where these indefinable qualities are lacking we may be prepared for the worst. This is not exactly what we call scientific.[23] The real danger, however, is the fundamental attitude of such editors toward their texts. Twenty years ago, A. E. Housman remarked that "the indulgence of love for one manuscript and dislike for another inevitably begets indifference to the author himself." [24] In the last analysis this is the abdication of reason in a sphere where it was least expected.[25]

5

The undeniable imperfections of the old method of textual criticism called for some remedy. This was attempted on a large scale by a scholar who had spent his life on a task where this need was most urgently felt. Dom Henri Quentin, editor of the first three books of the Vulgate Old Testament, devised for his edition (which was to comprise the whole Octateuch) a comprehensive method of textual criticism; [26] he afterwards tried his method on other texts and recommended it as generally applicable.[27]

Dom Quentin claimed to have developed for the preliminary stages of an edition—classification of manuscripts and reconstruction of the archetype—a truly scientific method. "The art comes in later, if in the archetype corrections are necessary in order to approach the presumed original." [28] Quentin's funda-

mental objection to previous editors—Griesbach and Lachmann and all their followers—is confusion, in practice if not in theory, of archetype and original.[28a] Only with regard to the original are we entitled to speak of good or bad readings, of correct or faulty ones. The archetype, often separated from the original by more than one transcription, would rarely, if ever, be faultless. An apparently good reading in a manuscript need not necessarily be nearer to the archetype than a bad one; the former may well be an ancient correction. Thus in our reconstruction of the archetype from extant manuscripts we must not let ourselves be guided by common errors; all variants must be collected without qualification and submitted to a "rigidly statistical method."[29] First of all, they are classed under three headings: 1 variants found in one manuscript only; 2 variants found in a small number of manuscripts; 3 variants found in the majority of manuscripts.[30] The first class of variants has value for our appreciation of individual manuscripts; the variants of the second class enable us to group the manuscripts in large families; the variants of the third class are means of determining the relation of individual manuscripts within a group and of the several groups to each other. No special method is required as regards classes one and two; Quentin's interests concentrate on class three. For its statistical examination he has devised an ingenious method which he calls "comparison by threes" (*comparaison à trois*). It aims at finding for every possible triad among the manuscripts of a text the one manuscript that is mediator between the other two. "Mediation" is used as a perfectly neutral term: a manuscript to which this function is attributed need not be the parent of the other two in its group; it may be the copy through which one of them is derived from the other; it may result from their contamination; it may have its place in even more complicated patterns, e.g.



—as long as one condition is fulfilled: if B is mediator between A and C, there must be no way from A to C but through B.

Since the mediator must by definition agree in different sets of readings with either of the remaining manuscripts, whereas these must not join in readings against the mediator, the latter is easy to find. In order to see whether in a given triad of manuscripts A B C any one is mediator between the other two, we have merely to count the agreements of AB against C, of AC against B, and of BC against A. If the figure for any of these relations is zero, the isolated manuscript is mediator between those by which it is opposed; e.g., if we find AC:B = 0 (which reads: "A and C have no common deviation from B"),[31] then B is mediator between A and C. If there are two zeros, the text of the manuscripts thus isolated is for all practical purposes identical, but the nature of their relation cannot be determined by this method.[32] If we obtain one larger figure and two small ones, the isolated manuscripts standing against the small figures are more closely related to one another than to the third. Three comparatively high figures in a group prove that the three manuscripts are independent of each other.

This statistical examination gives clues for the grouping of manuscripts within a family, and, thanks to the overlapping of certain triads (those composed of manuscripts from different families), also for the relationship of larger groups. In order to cover the whole ground it would be necessary to examine in this way all possible triads and to base their examination on all variants that are found in the text. This would be an immense task if the text is long and the number of manuscripts great. However, a previous tabulation of the number of common variants in each possible pair of manuscripts helps to reduce considerably the number of triads that are worth examining,[33] and for our dealing with long texts Dom Quentin suggests collecting variants only from selected chapters as he did himself in his work on the Octateuch. We are further advised to exclude from our lists all variants that might be deliberate (spelling, inversion, omission) or due to external causes (intrusion of glosses, gaps in the exemplar caused by material damage[34]).

Comparison by threes aims merely at finding the mediators: it reveals nothing about the nature or direction of the depend-

ences thus established. Besides, it is a comparison of various stages of a text rather than of its manuscripts. Once the mediators (and the mediators between mediators) are marked out, all the rest has to be done in the traditional way. What Dom Quentin has to say about these things is valuable enough, but it is not new; it is merely an interpretation of the familiar method in a spirit of enlightened common sense. Noteworthy is Quentin's insistence on the strictest mental discipline in reconstructing the archetype from the data of the pedigree. Here Quentin discusses a number of typical patterns (to some of which I have referred above) and demands that their verdict should be adhered to as an "iron rule" wherever it is unequivocal, even if obviously correct readings have to be rejected. They were not in the archetype; perhaps they were in the original—but with this we are not yet concerned: "the art comes in later."

Dom Quentin has been severely criticized not only by Professor E. K. Rand,[35] but also by his confrères and colleagues in the Vulgate Commission, Dom Donatien de Bruyne and Dom D. J. Chapman.[36] It is irrelevant for our purpose that Professor Rand accepts Dom Quentin's text of the Vulgate as "independent of his method," whereas de Bruyne and especially Chapman extend their criticism to the edition. A vehement reply to Rand and a more restrained one to de Bruyne are included in Quentin's *Essais* of 1926: apart from these the later work is a restatement of the original theory, followed by specimens of its application to texts other than the Bible. I do not wish to enter into a criticism of Dom Quentin's critics; I prefer to examine his theory in the light of my own experience, with occasional reference to the experience of others.[36a]

For all his criticism of the old method Quentin would have it developed rather than abandoned. With the old school he distinguishes between *recensio and emendatio*. He insists on their complete separation and plausibly assigns them different tasks: the former should aim at the reconstruction of the archetype, the latter at the reconstruction of the original. Quentin then subdivides the *recensio* into two successive steps: first we have to find out the textual affinity of each manuscript with every other and to detect existing mediators; then to interpret

our findings in terms of affiliation. Only for the former does Quentin offer an entirely new technique.

It is true that a variant can be called good or bad only by reference to our conception of the original which we are trying to recover. In order to avoid question-begging and subjectivism, however, it is not necessary to observe that strict neutrality toward all variants which is demanded by Quentin. On principle, any correct reading against which we have noted a corrupt variant may be nothing but an ancient emendation, and thus have no greater authority than a conjecture by Bentley or Scaliger; instances are frequent in manuscripts of the Renaissance, and there is no reason why the same should not be true of the better type of manuscripts from the Middle Ages.[37] In practice, however, this would be the exception rather than the rule, and should be proved in every instance.[38] The question is not whether it is permissible to classify manuscripts by common errors, but what types of errors are suitable for classification.[39] We have seen that some types, e.g., omission by *homoioteleuton,* are unsuitable; but this is no reason for us to renounce the principle. To select variants according to their aptness for classification implies no prejudice with regard to either archetype or original; this Quentin has done on a large scale, and not always quite consistently.[40] If our variants are well chosen, we may safely go by common "secondary" readings as defined above, as long as their character is reasonably certain. If it is not safe to assert that nonsense must always be the corruption of sense, it is far more dangerous to suppose that sense would normally emerge from nonsense.

We must not forget, however, that Dom Quentin devised his method originally for the edition of what he calls *textes vivants* as distinct from *textes morts*.[40a] This distinction means that some texts would be copied by the scribes with the intention of reproducing the original as faithfully as possible—either because this was expressly demanded (as, e.g., when a copy of Virgil was needed for the school) or merely because the scribe did not react to the text in any particular way; whereas others (e.g., the Bible, or tracts of a controversial nature) were liable to willful alteration; [41] others still, which I would term "wild" rather than "living" (to which belongs the bulk of popular literature), were not considered as fixed in every detail, and scribes would feel at

liberty to deal with them after their own fashion. Editors of such texts may indeed welcome a method which, at least in the early stages of *recensio,* facilitates a mechanical procedure.

However legitimate this method may be in its place, it is imperfect in more than one respect even if judged by its own standards. The most serious objection is the practice of sample collation of extensive texts. Of course, no editor of the *De Civitate Dei* could be required to collate all extant manuscripts for all the twenty-two books. Now, an old-fashioned editor would have collated first a small number of manuscripts (by preference the earliest ones, and perhaps one or two of later date which he found within easy reach); he would then select some chapters and paragraphs where he had noted interesting variants and collate for these sections as many manuscripts as possible[42]; the result would teach him which of these manuscripts he ought to collate more fully. He would, of course, risk overlooking occasionally an illuminating feature in a place where it was not to be expected; but as a rule the risk would be small. Dom Quentin chooses his samples at random. Although with regard to unintentional variants (to which his method is restricted) one section of the text would not differ greatly from the other, the risk of overlooking a telling feature is considerably increased. The fatal thing about these samples, however, is their paucity—in view of the fact that they are to yield the material for a method based on statistics. Figures must reach a certain height before the law of averages begins to operate. Dom Quentin based his *recensio* of the Octateuch on no more than ninety-one groups of variants which were taken from eight chapters (one from each book), amounting to approximately one thirtieth of the whole text. Dom Chapman, who examined some two thousand variants from the same text, found that on this enlarged basis comparison by threes no longer produced zeros! Dom Quentin's procedure is open to criticism also as regards the selection of his variants. Not only does he dismiss as unsuitable certain variants of his original selection at some later stage (especially when they are in the way of zero); the very principle of selection is not quite as lucid as one might wish it to be. This difficulty is inherent in the subject; all variants consist of language material, and language ultimately defies classification.

Is, e.g., the vulgar Latin spelling of a word a variant suitable for our purpose? Is a variant of the type *motus* - *mutus* one of spelling or of sense? If in an early medieval text a vulgarism stands against a classicism, which is secondary? All depends on the nature of the text and the circumstances of its transmission—factors which are not allowed to enter into the editor's consideration at this point. But why should they be excluded? At the next step, which still falls within the domain of *recensio,* all this and many other features of the old method are let in as it were by the backdoor—even the principle of common errors, although we are still reconstructing the archetype and not the original. Far from blaming Quentin for this inconsistency, I think he deserves praise for the courage to commit it. I even venture to justify it on the grounds of his own theory. Manuscripts in the upper branches of the family-tree are (as texts, not necessarily as copies) less remote from the archetype than those in lower places; thus even if a text is of the "living" type, its tradition need not yet be so intermingled as to make inferences from common errors inconclusive. In their early stages "living" and "dead," "literary" and "wild" texts are still more akin; and for the edition of "dead" texts Dom Quentin himself credits the old method with a certain competency.[43]

It may well be (as Dom de Bruyne was inclined to believe) that the *méthode Quentin* is merely imperfect. It certainly ought to be given a fair trial. If it is to make good its claim to be a universal method of textual criticism, it must, when applied to "dead" texts, yield results at least as satisfactory as those of the old method, and when applied to "living" texts, succeed in solving difficulties which for the old method are insurmountable.[44]

6

When all is said the new method disappoints us exactly where the old one was found most wanting. A scientific classification of manuscripts depends on a scientific classification of errors.[45] To fill this gap has been the aim of an article by Professor Eugene Vinaver.[46] Analyzing the process of copying, Professor Vinaver distinguishes four movements each of which is a potential source of peculiar errors. The text has to be fixed

in the scribe's mind; here we have to reckon with occasional misreading of the exemplar (a^1) and with intentional alteration (a^2). Next comes the passage of the eye from the text to the copy, with a possible lapse of memory on the way (b). The third step is the writing down of the bit of text that has thus been transmitted; here the errors most likely to occur are those of "arrhythmia," e.g., haplography and dittography (c). Lastly, the eye has to return to the text where it had left off; the errors inherent in this movement are *homoioteleuton* (d^1),[47] recurrence —i.e., starting from an earlier point than where the text was left (d^2), and contamination—i.e., straying of the eye into the neighboring context (d^3). Only the errors classed under (a) and (d) are peculiar to copyists; stage (b) has an analogy in the transmission of a mental concept to the writing page, and stage (c) with all its possible errors is common to clerk and author. The errors inherent in stages (a) and (d) call for emendation by their very nature, those occurring in stages (b) and (c) only so far as they are mechanical. We thus obtain six types of "emendable errors":

1. (a^1) misunderstanding of the original;
2. (a^2) conscious alteration;
3. (d^1) homoioteleuton;
4. (d^2) duplication;
5. (d^3) contamination;
6. (b,c) arrhythmia.

In the tradition of texts two of these errors are often combined, e.g., (1) or (2) with either (2) or (6); the second error is invariably due to an exemplar in which the first one had already occurred. Even a single "combined error" of this type is sufficient proof of at least one intermediate exemplar between our copy and the original.[48] Professor Vinaver gives useful criteria (accompanied by diagrams) for the diagnosis of errors; I mention only this one: in a case of duplication (d^2) the element that occurs twice in the original must occur three times in the copy.

This classification of errors means definitely a step forward. If it still leaves much to be desired, it mainly because Professor

Vinaver's survey of the factors that enter into the act of copying is incomplete. The author merely analyzes the copying process as such, but deliberately ignores the human element—the scribe.[49] However, psychological factors which have nothing to do with the process of copying can interfere with a scribe's work at any stage. We need not subscribe to the tenets of psychoanalysis in order to realize the disturbing effect of "free associations" or any other pre-occupation of the scribe's mind on the correctness of his transcript.[50] Besides, there are other psychological factors, e.g., haste, negligence, or fatigue,[51] all of which are, from the critic's point of view, equally intangible. Even misreading of the exemplar need not always be due to palaeographical ignorance; it may have a psychological cause or may result from material conditions, e.g., poor light, or bad legibility of the exemplar. Errors which are due to such causes cannot be emended methodically; however, no method can afford to ignore their existence.[52] How, e.g., can mechanical arrhythmia, which Professor Vinaver declares emendable, be distinguished from other (evidently psychological) forms of arrythmia, which according to him are not emendable?

Further, Professor Vinaver has classified only the errors of the eye. What about errors of the ear? Copying from dictation or from an exemplar—this alternative was once hotly debated. Most scholars are now agreed that during the Middle Ages silent copying was the rule. Still, dictation would take place occasionally.[53] I doubt whether a clear distinction between errors of the ear and of the eye will ever be possible. The critic of a text will also have to consider the possibility that the *praelector* sometimes misread or wilfully altered his text.[54] On the other hand, even the silent copyist would bring to his task an auditive memory rather than visual, especially in the matter of spelling;[55] he would, in fact, normally dictate to himself the words just memorized before writing them down ('la dictée intérieure' of Kavet and Dain). Professor Vinaver, however, did not even consider the possibility of either dictation or self-dictation. Perhaps we are asking for more than he was prepared to give; yet without making due allowance for all this his technique does not possess the scientific cogency which it claims.

Professor Vinaver lays down principles of textual *emendation;* he rejects altogether the idea of *recensio:*

> "Recent studies in textual criticism mark the end of an age-long tradition. The ingenious technique of editing evolved by the great masters of the nineteenth century has become as obsolete as Newton's physics, and the work of generations of critics has lost a good deal of its value. It is no longer possible to classify manuscripts on the basis of 'common errors'; genealogical 'stemmata' have fallen into discredit, and with them has vanished our faith in composite critical texts." (p. 351)

I do not venture to prophesy about the vitality of Newton's physics, but I dare say Professor Vinaver's necrologue on *recensio, stemmata* and composite texts is in its generalization somewhat ahead of the event. At a later stage [56] the author himself has recourse to the principle that common errors must have a common source (to be fair, errors of a type which he calls emendable), and even goes so far as to base on such common errors a *stemma codicum.*[57] It would appear to me that the inference from effect to cause which is implied in this principle is open to graver objections than is Lachmann's "subjective" notion of error; the danger of subjectivism is at least not inherent in the method, and no one knows better how to avoid it than Professor Vinaver.

7

Let us turn now from criticism to synthesis. Dissatisfaction with the traditional routine of *recensio* has spread widely among modern editors. On this situation Bédier, Vinaver, and Quentin reacted in different ways according to the type of tests in which they were mainly interested. Their reactions range from improvements of technique to complete rejection of the method and, in theory at least, of the thing itself. In practice, however, none of our critics has really abandoned the common platform, not even Professor Bédier—for his selection of a manuscript that is "on the whole most satisfactory" cannot rest on arguments

fundamentally different from those which lead to a *recensio*. It seems possible then to co-ordinate all constructive criticism and positive suggestions toward an effort to steer our critical method out of its present crisis.[58]

All objections against the traditional *methodus recensendi* boil down to one: that we are arguing in a circle. If this were necessarily true in all instances, nothing would remain for us but to give up the whole matter and fall back on the unmethodical eclecticism of the pre-Lachmann period. This is indeed the only course for those who demand that the *recensio* should be a strictly scientific procedure; neither Lachmann's nor Quentin's nor Vinaver's method would answer to this description. Here as in all human affairs we can achieve at best great probability or moral certainty. No method is infallible: it merely reduces the chance of failure. With this reservation, however, we may point out:

(1) that certain variants can be objectively called errors;
(2) that certain types of errors can for all practical purposes be regarded as secondary readings;
(3) that some of these, if not all, are most unlikely to occur at the same point in different manuscripts of a text without real connection.

By concentrating on the last group alone it is possible to work out a pedigree of manuscripts from which to reconstruct the archetype unaffected by any thought of the original. The range of variants suitable for classification will thus be limited;[59] *recensio* will henceforth involve more searching of heart, and will result in a *non liquet* more often than hitherto; its ultimate verdict will tend to keep the editor alert rather than to lull him to sleep —in a word, it will enhance his responsibility. The distinction between suitable and unsuitable variants cannot be made by rule of thumb; it will vary from one text to another. Familiarity with the subject is a greater asset to the editor than is the most elaborate method; he must develop an empiric rather than a dogmatic attitude.

The same spirit must guide us in our choice between different techniques. The traditional technique, if applied with the neces-

sary caution, would still appear to be most appropriate for the edition of *textes morts* preserved in a small number of manuscripts which are dependent on one another without many intervening stages of textual development; this is the case of many classical texts, and classical scholars were mainly responsible for the development of this technique. The same technique may be useful for the elimination of some manuscripts as copies of others still extant where the number of witnesses is very great. This done, the *recensio* of such texts will be one of *Textstufen* rather than of individual manuscripts; here the technique of Dom Quentin, once it is freed from certain imperfections, might have its big chance.[60] It could perhaps also become a means of detecting the more important copies among the Renaissance manuscripts and early printed editions of our Greek and Latin classics.[61] Professor Vinaver's technique which practically eliminates all *recensio* properly so called would appear to be most suitable for the edition of texts known from only few witnesses whose interdependence is obscured by the loss of most or all mediators; this is indeed the condition of the *Launcelot* text from which Professor Vinaver derived his illustrations. This technique might also be a shortcut where a text can be reconstructed from manuscripts near to the author's time, as is often the case in medieval literature. Really "wild" texts will defy any technique; here we shall often be content with the separate edition—in Professor Bédier's way—of single manuscripts illustrating the more significant stages of development, and replace the history of the text by a literary history of the subject. Of course, the editor cannot always know from the beginning to what class his text belongs; besides there are many transitions from one class to another. If the manuscripts of a text are many (say more than a dozen), an experiment with Quentin's method might be worth while. If the number of manuscripts is small, it will become apparent from their collation whether the text tradition is uniform or intermingled; in the one case classification by common errors, in the other some procedure along the lines suggested by Professor Vinaver will be useful. The test of a method is its efficiency in the circumstances, and failure with one method will generally give a hint as to the alternative to be adopted.

8

The archetype marks the limit where the reconstruction of a text from documentary evidence must necessarily stop. But the archetype is often removed from the original by centuries and has inherited from many predecessors a number of errors. In other instances our text depends on a single manuscript, perhaps of late date, or on a printed edition *codicis instar*. If, not content with the documented text, we want to approach the original, we have to practice the art of emendation. Because it is an art and not a science, emendation is condemned by the champions of strictly scientific editorship.

> "A textual critic . . . should reproduce what is extant with such modifications as a strictly scientific 'cleaning' process would allow." (E. Vinaver, p. 367).[61a]

The comparison between textual criticism and the restoration of an artistic monument is typical of the spirit of this school. In some measure it is a reaction against an attitude that has thus been formulated by the late Professor J. P. Postgate:

> "The systematic retention of what is faulty, on the ground that it may conceivably be genuine, will do more harm on the whole than its systematic rejection. And, if editors are to consult the preferences of their readers, most of these would choose to have in their copies of an ancient classic what he probably, or it may be possibly, wrote rather than what he did not write, or at least ought not to have written." (*Textual Criticism,* in J. E. Sandys, *A Companion to Latin Studies,* 1910, p. 805.)

Since these lines were published many things have changed. There is no longer a sufficiently large class of general readers who would take up for their pleasure an ancient classic in the original; on the other hand, the interest of scholars has extended far beyond classical texts, for which may be assumed a certain standard of language and style; even classical authors are no longer placed on a pedestal from which this and that ought to

be excluded as unworthy of their greatness. We feel bound to judge every text by its own standard, and our criticism must accordingly become more adaptable to individual conditions. Still it is an art which obeys laws, although these must by no means be rigid.

I shall now try to outline the type of textual emendation that has stood the test of time.

The first step is the location and diagnosis of the evil. Normally there should be only one *locus infectus* in every instance; if there are more, the others should be explainable as resulting from the first.[62]

After the diagnosis there comes the therapy, which requires a number of instruments. Palaeography is the one most commonly thought of, but editors must be warned against its misuse. The time when critics thought that all ancient texts were originally written in capitals and *scriptura continua* and that all capitals looked more or less similar, lies far behind us; today this trick is played only by the worst of amateurs. But how many editors do realize the practical importance of forming some opinion about the date and script of a lost archetype or mediator? It is precisely for this reason that textual history is indispensible.[63] Few editors would, e.g., substitute without hesitation *eius* for *contra,* or vice versa; yet in the early Irish script the tachygraphic symbols for these two words were likely to be confused.[64] An editor wishing to make this substitution would of course be obliged to prove that his text passed through Irish hands at an early date.

We should not insist, however, in all instances on a palaeographical explanation; many a blunder may be due to the various causes of error that have been mentioned above: *vox ecclesiastica,* vulgar pronunciation, *homoioteleuton* and other omissions,[65] arrhythmia. We have seen that a mistake need not be caused by the exemplar at all, but may have its cause in the disposition of the scribe, his associations and idiosyncrasies. Errors of this kind cannot be cured by methods other than psychological. A survey and classification of the psychological sources of clerical errors and their discussion in the light of modern psychology would be desirable, all the more so because the psychological factor must be considered also in many instances of palaeo-

graphical error and others of a seemingly mechanical nature: an unfamiliar contraction, e.g., is not constantly misread, but only where circumstances are favorable—in Professor Collomp's words, where a trap is laid for the copyist. As a first step toward a psychology of scribal blunders I suggest the "behavioristic" study of the habits of individual scribes and even of *scriptoria* or larger writing provinces during certain periods. When Ludwig Traube planned a new edition of the Latin Anthology (which, unfortunately, he did not live to finish),[66] he began with a study of the *centones* from Virgil in the *codex Salmasianus* (our main source for this collection) in order to learn the habits of its scribe. He soon realized that this scribe was very ignorant of Latin and often blundered in the most extravagant way. We may then assume similar extravagances for those parts of the collection where no such control is possible.[67] The same heuristic method was demonstrated by W. M. Lindsay on the text of Plautus.[68] Of a more general interest is the comparative study of the *Turonesis* (M) of Livy and its exemplar, the *Puteanus* (P), by Professor F. W. Shipley,[69] who thus proves in an important case the fidelity of scribes in the early Carolingian period.

The most important guide in emendation is the author's personal idiom. Of this the editor must have an intimate knowledge. Yet this knowledge is difficult to apply. Here, if anywhere, discretion is the better part of valor. There is always the temptation for us to tie an author down to his prevalent usage whereever we see no special reason why he should have written differently. On the other hand, an emendation that is not in the author's style, or violates laws which he generally observes, can have no credit. In recent times the language of many authors has been studied statistically, and a well-known statistician has even outlined a theory of this subject.[70] Here again the exercise of prudence is imperative. Statistics may reveal important facts, but they can also lead astray. "The spirit can never be mechanized." [71]

As often as not, emendations have been confirmed by the subsequent discovery of new material. However, an emendation which is methodically perfect, may none the less be flatly contradicted by new and irrefutable evidence.[72] As long as no such evidence is forthcoming the real test of an emendation is not that

it is perfect according to the rules of the game, but that it makes a corrupt passage perfect in its own way—beyond any conceivable chance of improvement. Perfection is not demonstrable to those who never experience it but those who do will sometimes feel with absolute certainty: "it *must* have been this"—and their feeling is not that illusive subjectivism which we are all striving to avoid but some sort of subjective objectivity which is its own justification. Of this type are the *coniecturae palmares* which we owe to the masters of our craft.[73] Method is here transcended;[74] the critic as it were penetrates the author's mind, thinks his thoughts, and becomes almost one with him. He might be contradicted later by documentary evidence; but even so he would have suggested something that an intimate and sympathetic friend might have suggested to the author in his lifetime. Our generation has admired such a critic in A. E. Housman, who was so great a critic because he was so great a poet.[75]

This is perhaps the place to say a word about higher criticism. In its more ambitious form it has admittedly failed in the two great issues known as the Homeric and the Synoptic question; to which, I think, will soon be added the *Testimonium Flavianum*.[76] *Numero deus impari gaudet.* To suspect a passage or even a whole text was considered a proof of critical acumen during the last century; as a reaction, the fashion to-day is over-credulity. Here as elsewhere the critic must strive for the Aristotelian mean. He is expected to be cautious in his decision and unambiguous in his statements; the reader is entitled to know whether the *obelos* in his text is a verdict or a suggestion. Here again we should follow in the footsteps of A. E. Housman. Athetesis is, after all, a death-sentence.

9

Last in order of time comes the presentation of the text to the reader. At this point the editor will have to show some regard for others: the reader, and even the publisher, whose views may at times differ widely from his own. Yet, I think we should always try even in externals to keep to the original as nearly as evidence warrants and the reader may be reasonably expected to follow. By externals I mean such things as chapter

division, spelling, or punctuation. The last two are controversial, especially with regard to medieval texts in Latin.

Many editors of such texts will adopt in their editions the normal spelling of classical Latin. All criticism of this practice may be summed up with the words of S. Harrison Thomson: "To transcribe *prestancia* as *praestantia* borders on the absurd." [77] Difficulties arise, however, when the manuscripts of a text disagree, or when a pre-Caroline text is preserved only in manuscript from the late Middle Ages. Perhaps we can some day agree on a normalized spelling of Latin for the period from ca. 1200 to 1400 A.D., during which the spelling of manuscripts is fairly uniform; [78] but as a rule we have to proceed empirically. Where evidence is lacking we may be obliged to spell a text after the convention of our schools. It should then be understood, however, that the spelling is the editor's, not the author's.

Less unity still is found in matters of punctuation. Most editors introduce in ancient and medieval texts the standard punctuation of their mother-tongue. The result is anything but satisfactory. We cannot, of course, reproduce slavishly the punctuation of the manuscripts because in this matter no two manuscripts agree.[79] But should we not consider evolving a system of punctuation out of the medieval practice? Medieval readers would read aloud, or at least with their inner ear, as much as with their eyes. Medieval punctuation is therefore musical rather than logical. There seem to be links between the *cursus* and the modulations of plain chant, also between the common punctuation marks in manuscripts and early musical notation. I strongly recommend this subject to the study of experts.

Consistency of punctuation throughout a text is another problem. Contrary to Professor Thomson, I fear that in this respect we often get too much of a good thing. We might be profitably consistent in setting off non-determinative relative and temporal clauses with a comma, thus distinguishing them from determinative clauses of the same type; but it is different, e.g., with appositions: here neglect of punctuation, commas and parentheses (or brackets) could be used to indicate stronger or looser connection with the surrounding text. Never must the editor wish to be more consistent than his author. *Distinguere,* in every sense, is part of the grammarian's craft; and the editor

should prefer to make his readers think rather than to save them the trouble.

The editor's final decision in these matters will greatly depend on his aims and on the purpose of his edition. He must make up his mind whether he wants to reconstruct a particular recension of his text, or the archetype, or the original; and he must never lose sight of the readers for whom his edition is primarily intended. Here, however, I should like to plead for my own profession. A great many medieval Latin texts are of interest mainly to theologians, canonists, or historians, and merely from the point of subject matter; the grammarian-editor is therefore often reproached from those quarters for going into details (e.g., of spelling) which other scholars find irrelevant to their immediate purpose and which may result in making an edition more expensive. If the grammarian is to do the editing for you, let him have his fun. Besides, the *minutiae* may prove valuble criteria some day in a discussion which cannot be foreseen at present.

An integral part of any scholarly edition is the *apparatus criticus*. A full discussion of its technical problems was published under the auspices of the International Academic Union in 1938.[80] Of more than technical importance is the question whether the apparatus should contain all variants or merely a selection. My answer is that it should contain all real variants of all constitutive witnesses, and a selection of others which can illustrate the history of the text. If only we could always tell for certain what is a variant! Where there is room for hesitation a reading ought to be given the benefit of the doubt. There can be no doubt, however, about the constitutive witnesses of a text. Here the editor should stick to his *recensio* and be rigidly consistent. Copies of extant manuscripts have nothing to do in an *apparatus* if their exemplars have been available.[81] An *apparatus criticus* that is really well done can be as fascinating to read as are significant equations to the mathematician.

The amount of explicit interpretation that should go with a text will vary with its purpose. The essential work of interpretation is done implicitly in the establishment of the text on a critical basis. A further aid to its understanding is punctuation —or rather it ought to be. A wealth of comment can be packed

into a few pages of indexes (*indices, Latinitatis* or *Graecitatis,*[82] *nominum et rerum, fontium et imitationum*).

The *commentarius perpetuus* is antiquated. We want, on the one hand, commentaries for beginners to teach them how to read,[83] and on the other commentaries for scholars to discuss the particular problems of texts which present unusual difficulties. In recent years there has been introduced a new type of edition, in which the text is accompanied by the *apparatus criticus* and the rudiments of a commentary.[84] This practice is highly recommended for medieval texts, where difficulties are often considerable but sporadic.

10

I conclude with some general remarks. In our days we witness an ever increasing tendency toward the application of exact and, as it were, scientific methods to various fields of research in the humanities. One of its effects is the present crisis of textual criticism. This tendency arose as a wholesome antidote against excessive speculation, which led to hyper-criticism on the one hand and to merely hypothetical construction on the other. It still remains to be seen how far these new methods can be pushed with real profit. I am not as optimistic as is R. B. Haselden, who declares:

> "Much more significant (than the use of scientific instruments) is the part which science is beginning to play in changing the attitude of scholars toward their problems, both as to methods of approach and processes of reasoning . . . Most significant of all has been the work of Einstein and other mathematicians, which has completely revolutionized scientific 'thinking'." (*Scientific Aids to the Study of Manuscripts,* Oxford, 1935, p. 111 f.)

Can the "physio-mathematical technique" really be applied to the *Geisteswissenschaften* in any considerable degree? To turn once more to our subject: in reconstructing an archetype from several manuscripts we invariably find that each of them reproduces its exemplar imperfectly. The deviations from the

original text are partly unintentional, partly intentional.[85] One class is mechanical, the other is not. To deal with the former an impersonal, *soi-disant* scientific method of investigation is adequate, but this will not succeed with the latter. Here our attitude must be *geisteswissenschaftlich*—the attitude of a mind trying to understand another mind. The work of man defies method to the degree that it is essentially human,[86] and even where method is applicable, it cannot beget thought, but only guide it. Method will never supersede vision—the most essential thing in a scholar; in its own place, however, method will often prevent illusion. Methods are fetters worn by a dancer to put his skill to the hardest test; he will be admired for wearing them well—but first of all he must know how to dance. The great critics of all times—Lorenzo Valla, Scaliger, Bentley, Gottfried Hermann, Bücheler, Wilamowitz, Housman, to mention only the *nomina clarissima*—certainly had method, and method owes no small debt to some of them; but they had also what is more—a living experience of the languages in which their authors wrote. They were always ready to acknowledge truth even if method seemed to rise against it.[87] Professor Vinaver's contention [88] that Housman's renunciation of the one-manuscript principle, his preference of probability to possibility, disqualifies him as a serious "scientific" critic comes back on its author with vengeance. Where language is concerned, a method which deliberately turns away as far as possible from the author and his idiom may be useful in a subordinate position, but must not be allowed to become our master. *Nobis et ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt,* said Bentley; I should like to add *et centum regulis methodorum*—and, with a little pun, translate *regulis* by "petty tyrants."

From time immemorial we grammarians have been the trustees of the literary languages of the human race; to us has fallen the task of watching over the purity of both language and text—and of each for the other's sake as well as for its own. I cannot follow Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who held that classical philology must strive to recover and revive the life of classical antiquity in its entire range as an end to which the study of language and literature is merely a means.[89] This most necessary task falls to the historian, not to the grammarian

(or philologist, as the Germans would say). We, too, actualize life in its fullness, but only so far as it is manifest in language; and, other than mere linguists (whom the English call philologists), we study language only in so far as it is a manifestation of civilized life. We are in essential agreement with a *Sprachwissenschaft* that is truly *Lebenswissenschaft* as is the work of Paul Kretschmer or Karl Vossler or Ernst Lewy. Still our fields are not the same; let each cultivate his own to our mutual advantage. Each in his way we all serve the common cause: to help man toward an understanding of his nature, of which language is the most direct expression. Here it were better to give the floor to a greater spirit—to Dante: [90]

Oportuit ergo genus humanum ad communicandum inter se conceptiones suas aliquod rationale signum et sensuale habere; quia cum de ratione accipere habeat et in rationem portare, rationale esse oportuit; cumque de una ratione in aliam nihil deferri possit nisi per medium sensuale, sensuale esse oportuit: quare si tantum rationale esset, pertransire non posset; si tantum sensuale, nec a ratione accipere nec in rationem deponere potuisset. Hoc equidem signum est, ipsum subjectum nobile, de quo loquimur: natura sensuale quidem, in quantum sonus est, esse; rationale uero, in quantum aliquid significare uidetur ad placitum.

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[1] The asterisks and *obeloi* which Origen, after the fashion of the Alexandrian school, employed in his *Hexapla* were taken over by Jerome into his "hexaplaric" versions of certain parts of the Bible. Our best manuscripts of these versions have preserved them at least in places. Incidentally, one of these learned editions became established in the Catholic liturgy—the "Gallican" Psalter.

[2] Theodor Haecker, *Vergil Vater des Abendlandes,* 2. ed. Leipzig, Hegner, 1933.

[3] The views of liberal education held in ancient Rome have been lucidly set out by A. Gwynn, S. J., *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian,* Oxford, 1926.

[4] *De grammaticis,* chap. 24.

[5] I endorse the spirited invective of Professor Dain against the principle of a "manuscrit de base": *Les manuscrits,* p. 157. In fairness to our predecessors, we are bound to declare that the outstanding editors of all times were free from this blame. They based their editions on the earliest and most trustworthy MSS. that were available. Students of Latin literature will remember the express statements to this effect with regard to Probus and Cassiodorus; students of classical Greek may be reminded of the great difference in the tradition of many texts between the Byzantine MSS., which are generally dependent on the critical editions of the

Alexandrian scholars, and the papyri, which, in their majority, represent either commercial editions or private copies. If ancient editors were less advanced in the methods of *recensio,* they brought to their task an intimacy with the author's language which even the greatest of modern scholars can never hope to equal; in the words of A. E. Housman (*Lucani Bellum Civile,* editorum in usum edidit A.E.H., 1927, p. vi), "they understood him with the marrow of their bones, which was the same stuff as his." In this respect we latecomers, however keen may be our critical sense, can only sigh with old Scaliger: *utinam essem bonus grammaticus.*

[6] I make this restriction especially in view of the exacting demands laid down by S. Harrison Thomson, *Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* Bulletin 16 (1941), p. 42 f. There we read e.g.: "If, particularly in the later centuries of the Middle Ages, an editor is unable to say, within a quarter of a century, when a MS. was written, the critical user of the edition has a right to entertain grave doubts as to his editorial competence." Here a sound principle is pushed too far. Even the most expert palaeographer would find it impossible to satisfy Professor Thomson on every occasion. In order to date a MS. accurately within a quarter of a century merely from an analysis of its script we must be able to attribute it to a known scriptorium or writing province—a task for which we are not very well equipped especially as regards the late Middle Ages. Gilson-Warner's *Catalogue of the Old Royal and King's Collection in the British Museum,* with its fine plates, supplemented by the Palaeographical Society's *Facsimiles of MSS* (with good indexes) and N. R. Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (Oxford 1941) provide an excellent starting point where medieval England is concerned. A. Chroust's *Monumenta Palaeographica* (Munich-Leipzig 1902—) cover a large portion of medieval Germany and Austria. We are less fortunate with regard to France, Belgium and Italy (except for the new Vatican catalogues, which are still in progress); and Spain is for the average palaeographer largely *terra incognita.* Dating by the traditional fast and ready rules is of little value, yet in many cases we cannot do more. Years ago, when I was on the staff of the National Library in Vienna, I contemplated a cumulative catalogue of all dated and localized MSS (with reference to facsimiles) as a first step toward a more accurate placing of others, but my enterprise was nipped in the bud by the political events of 1938. A plea for a repertory of dated manuscripts has again been made by A. Dain, *op. cit.* p. 78 f. Where the palaeographer has to admit his ignorance, can the editor, who need not be a specialist in palaeography, be expected to know better?

[7] The late A. E. Housman was inclined to regard *Uberlieferungsgeschichte* as a cheap substitute for critical acumen, but in actual fact his scorn was directed only against isolated instances of hypothetical reconstruction (as in the case of Juvenal and Lucan) which he was able to expose as unfounded. The three classical histories of texts by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and the celebrated *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* by Ludwig Traube are of a different kind. Their merit is none the less for the discovery of an occasional weakness in the argument (as regards the Rule of St. Benedict, see H. Plenkers in the preface to the 2nd edition, 1910, p. 3.) The limits of Housman's criticism are lucidly indicated in E. Fraenkel's review of Housman's Lucan, *Gnomon* 2 (1926), pp. 497-532. In the same year 1926 U. Knoche published his book *Die Uberlieferung Juvenals,* in which he developed a method of dealing objectively with a complex and not predominently mechanical text tradition. See now also Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione,* 2 ed., pp. 180-183, 427-431. It is characteristic that Knoche's study was ignored by Housman in his second edition of Juvenal (1931).

[8] See the preface to his edition of the Greek New Testament (1842) and his commentary on Lucretius (1855).

[9] Only if the number of MSS. is very great, or if the text has come down to us in several distinct redactions—two difficulties which usually go hand in hand—, the collation of MSS. may have its special problems. Detective instinct, trained by experience, is then the best guide. For methodical considerations I refer to the

words of Silva New quoted above (p. 114), to Professor Knoche's improved method of *recensio* (see note 7). and to Dom Quentin's "comparison by threes." These techniques may help to eliminate the irritating effect of secondary influences (collation, correction, etc.) in part of the tradition.

[10] The latest editor of the *Consolatio,* W. Weinberger, accepted the consequences. From the mass of MSS. (there are over eighty earlier than A. D. 1100) he singled out a small number of superior copies upon which to base his edition; among these *meliores* two ninth century MSS. stand out so high above the rest that their agreement would normally outweigh the combined evidence of all the others. There are, however, passages where the evidently true reading is preserved in other MSS., even in some which Weinberger consulted only occasionally or which he altogether neglected. On the other hand, F. Klingner's endeavor to work out a pedigree of Weinberger's principal MSS. (*Gnomon* 16, 1940, pp. 26-32) is, to my mind, unconvincing. A similar course was taken long ago by editors of Virgil; their decision was almost inevitable in view of the ancient capital MSS. on one side and the bulk of medieval copies on the other. With regard to Horace, editors seem to be agreed on the principle rather than on the MSS. to be selected. A warning is necessary, however, against the habitual neglect of the *codices recentiores.* This lesson has been brought home to us by recent studies on Tacitus (Dom H. Quentin, *Essais de critique textuelle,* 1926 pp. 165-77; C. W. Mendell, *Manuscripts of Tacitus XI-XXI*: Yale Classical Studies VI, 1939, p. 39-70): most fifteenth century MSS. of the later books are indeed derived from the *Mediceus secundus* (Laurent. 68, 2), but *Vaticanus 1958* goes farther back—possibly to the lost part of *Mediceus* 68, 1. On the general principle one should read the excellent remarks of G. Pasquali, *op. cit.* p. xvi f., and his analysis of some instructive cases, pp. 41-108.

[11] Cf. A. E. Housman's remarks on the text tradition of Lucan (*Bellum Civile,* p. *vii*): "The circumstances in which Lucan's text was transmitted from his own time to the scholars of the Carolingian Renaissance did not afford the requisite privacy and isolation (for distinct families of MSS. to develop). . . . Lucan was popular; variant readings were present not only in the margin of books but in the memory of transcribers; and the true line of division is between the variants themselves, not between the manuscripts which offer them. The manuscripts group themselves not in families but in factions; their dissidences and agreements are temporary and transient, like the splits and coalitions of political party; and the utmost which can be done to classify them is to note the comparative frequency of their shifting alliances." Much the same has often been stated by papyrologists: the papyri do not form families of texts; the medieval MSS., on the other hand, are normally derived from ancient editions, the text of which, in the light of the papyri, appears to be eclectic. On these grounds does V. Martin claim for the editor a "prudent and judicious, yet subjective" choice between variants. I do not intend to discuss here the crucial problem of the literary papyri and their bearing on ancient texts; the reader is referred to P. Collomp, *La critique des textes,* Paris 1931, pp. 6, 84-104, and especially to the masterly treatment of this subject by G. Pasquali, *op. cit.* pp. 185-393.

[12] G. Pasquali (p. xvi) aptly warns against inferences from common errors which are either ubiquitous blunders or easy trivializations. Cf. A. E. Housman, *Lucani Bellum Civile,* p. xx: "when two or more MSS. agree in an omission which can be palaeographically explained, it does not necessarily follow that the omission is derived from a common source of those MSS.; the palaeographical cause is universally operative, and MSS. not akin to one another may independently be affected by it." It is even possible that an omission which appears to be caused by *homoioteleuton* has in fact quite a different cause. St. Patrick, *Confessio* 60 reads *manebit in aeternum quomodo et Christus manet in aeternum;* in one MS. the words *quomodo—aeternum* are missing. At first sight this would appear to be an omission by *homoioteleuton.* But the author is quoting 1 John 2, 17, where after *manebit in aeternum* some Old Latin witnesses insert the clause

in question from John 12, 34. Thus our scribe probably cancelled what he regarded as an interpolation.

[13] P. Maas, *Textkritik* (1927), p. 3.

[14] H. Kantorowicz distinguishes between correct (*richtige*) and authentic (*echte*) readings; whilst the latter must have an uninterrupted tradition from the original to a given copy, the former may have been re-introduced in the place of some error by either collation or emendation. See P. Collomp, p. 56 f.

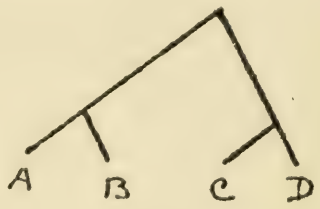
[15] External evidence can take on very different forms. A common one is the intrusion of a gloss into the text. Unfortunately some editors have, on the grounds of this possibility, "purged" their texts beyond all reasonable measure.

[16] *The primitive text of the Gospels and Acts,* 1914; *Recent developments in textual criticism* (Oxford Lectures on Classical Subjects, 1914), pp. 15-18. In later works (*The Descent of Manuscripts,* 1918; *The Acts of the Apostles,* 1933) Professor Clark has further developed his theory. He maintains that scribes were normally more apt to omit than to invent, and that omissions in MSS. of ancient texts often correspond to one or several lines of earlier copies from which they were derived. Professor Clark has worked out an ingenious system of stichometry, by the help of which he endeavors to vindicate many disputed passages in Cicero as well as in the Gospels and Acts. His assertions have certainly some foundation in facts; but the application of a mathematical method to literary texts requires great caution. Of this the author was well aware. "Figures," he says (*Descent of Manuscripts,* p. xiv), "are curious things and the limits of coincidences are large." We are not surprised to find his method least satisfactory in the case of an exemplar written in very narrow columns. Now most of our early uncial MSS. are written in columns of eight to twelve letters to the line (in the palimpsest of Cicero's *De re publica* the number varies between eight and eleven; in our Old Latin biblical MSS. between ten and twelve: W. Hatch, *Origin and meaning of the term "uncial"*: Classical Philology 30, 1935, p. 247 ff.); only for MSS. in *capitalis rustica* or *quadrata* long lines were the rule. It would follow that stichometry cannot always be applied with success.

[17] D. L. Page, *Actor's interpolations in Greek Tragedy.* Oxford 1934.

[18] This is the case, e.g., in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, which is preserved in two ancient recensions, one extant in a Moscow MS. (now in Leyden), the other in several copies taken from a MS. that belonged to the humanist Aurispa. L. Radermacher, *Der homerische Hermeshymnus,* Wien 1931, p. 16, points out that the *codex Aurispae* has on the whole a smoother text, but that the Mosquensis sometimes contains in *durchsichtiger Verderbnis überraschend sinnvolle Lesungen.*

[19] That is to say, if four MSS. which are affiliated after the pattern



part company in such a way that AC stand against BD, or AD against BC.

[20] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Geschichte der Philologie,* (Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* I/1, 3. ed., 1927) p. 77.

[21] See the preface to his edition of the *Lai de l'Ombre* (*Société des Anciens Textes Français*), 1913; also *La Tradition du Lai de l'Ombre Réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes:* Romania 54 (1928), pp. 161-96, 321-56), where he maintains his thesis against Dom Quentin's criticism.

[22] Cf. E. Vinaver, *Principles,* p. 351: "Faced with the task of editing a work preserved in a number of imperfect *copies,* the critic is no longer expected to

base his text on a combination of variants; he is supposed to choose a single *version* and edit it as best he can." The italics are mine.

[23] Similar objections have been made by Dom Quentin, *Essais,* pp. 147-64, and Rev. A. Merk, S.J., *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (Rome 1933), p. 6*. See also A. E. Housman, *Juvenalis Satirae editorum in usum ed. A.E.H.,* 1905 (2. ed. 1931), pp. xi-xvi.

[24] Lucani *Bellum Civile,* p. vi.

[25] As a classical formulation of this attitude I quote Housman's comment on the text of Juvenal (*Satirae,* p. xvi): "For deserting the Pithoeanus they (the older editors) cannot blame us, since in that action we agree with them: they must blame us for the feature in which our conduct differs from theirs. Our offense is that we do not desert the Pithoeanus in the proper spirit, the spirit of rats leaving a sinking ship. We quit the best manuscript in search of truth: we ought only to quit it, as they do, in search of shelter. In inquiring whether a given reading of P's is right, we behave as if we really wanted to know, and we ask whether it is probable: they ask only whether it is possible, and unless it is impossible they believe it to be right."

[26] *Mémoire sur l'establissement du texte de la Vulgate:* I. *Octateuque.* 1922.

[27] *Essais de critique textuelle.* 1926.

[28] *Essais,* p. 9.

[28a] In defense of this practice (within certain limits) H. Kantorowicz (p. 37) remarks that it is impossible to reconstruct an archetype *exclusively* by a *recensio* of the text tradition.

[29] *Essais,* p. 37.

[30] It must be borne in mind that at this stage "variant" means to Dom Quentin any MS.-reading, not only deviation from a presumed text.

[31] Dom Quentin prefers a slightly different form of notation; the one which I have chosen means the same and is self-explanatory.

[32] Three zeros in a group would be quite exceptional; this possibility has not been envisaged by Dom Quentin.

[33] Normally we need not compare MSS. which have an identical, or nearly identical, text.

[34] I am not concerned here with Dom Quentin's technique, which makes it possible for us to handle even a large amount of material quickly and easily.

[35] *Dom Quentin's Memoir on the Text of the Vulgate:* Harvard Theol. Rev. 17 (1924), pp. 197-264.

[36] *Revue Bénédictine* 36 (1924), pp. 151-8; 37 (1925), pp. 5-46, 365-403. Other reviews of Dom Quentin's papers are listed by P. Collomp, *La critique des textes* (1931), p. 72f.; *Problèmes actuels de critique textuelle à propos d'un livre récent:* Bulletin . . . Strasbourg V (1927), pp. 267ff. In these two publications M. Collomp discusses judiciously the whole problem.

[36a] In my criticism of the *méthode Quentin* I find myself in complete agreement with Dain (pp. 162-4) and Pasquali (p. 178 f.).

[37] The Middle Ages had their classicists and even their text critics; besides, from the Carolingian period onward trained scribes would normally be able to correct obvious grammatical blunders and, within certain limits, to amend nonsensical readings of their exemplars.

[38] This is also the opinion of Dom de Bruyne, *Rev. Bén.* XXXVI. 151-2. Dom Quentin himself (*Essais,* p. 47, 84-5) argues on this assumption occasionally, —once (p. 47) in a plea for the recognition of mediators suggested by "quasi-zeros."

[39] See Dom Chapman, *Rev. Bén.* XXXVII. 7; P. Collomp, p. 61-2.

[40] Cf. de Bruyne, *Rev. Bén.* XXXVI. 152 f.

[40a] This distinction is in substance the same as Pasquali's distinction between "recensione chiusa" and "recensione aperta."

[41] As regards the Bible, "alteration" would mean no more than the substitution of variants from the scribe's memory; but there are other texts which the scribes would not hesitate to trim or purge according to their own views.

[42] Before World War I the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* had a highly efficient collation service which extended over the whole civilized world.

[43] For the "dead" texts the *critique de l' original* has been revindicated by P. Collomp, p. 62, 76f. It is much the same to say—as I would prefer—that a clearly "secondary" reading cannot be attributed to the archetype, and thus common "secondary" readings are a legitimate means of classification.

[44] That this is not necessarily so is suggested by two of Quentin's illustrations. His experiment with the *Passio SS. Mariani et Iacobi* (*Essais,* pp. 123-9) results in almost the same *recensio* as did the usual method in the hands of Franchi de' Cavalieri (*Studi e Testi* 3, 1900); whether or not MS. *A* was over-estimated by the editor (as Quentin suggests) cannot be determined from the small selection of variants (all from one paragraph of the text) which were examined by Dom Quentin. More decisive is a passage of St. Jerome (from the preface *Desiderii mei*) which according to Quentin (pp. 119-22) illustrates the "fragilité des textes." The MSS. give: *quod maxime idcirco faciebat quia in Platonis dogma cadere uidebatur* (*-antur* a small number of less important MSS.). From a parallel in the *Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesim* we learn the correct reading: *quos maximi idcirco faciebat quia . . . uidebantur.* The fundamental blunder was *quod* for *quos,* which in turn led to *maxime* for *maximi;* then the phrase which no longer made sense, was superficially "emended" by changing the verb from plural to singular—all this before our archetype was written. So far so good; but even after its "emendation" the text was suspect; besides, no critic of the old school would base his classification of MSS. on a variant of the type *uidebatur—uidebantur.* A passage like this is unsuitable for a *recensio codicum.* I may be allowed to report here my own experimenting with Quentin's method. I applied it to the text tradition of St. Patrick's *Confessio* and compared the result with my previous *recensio* after the old method. The *Confessio* is extant in seven MSS., none of which is directly dependent on any other. From those sections which are preserved in all MSS. I listed the suitable variants (according to Quentin's canon)—31 in all—and examined them statistically. The result did not contradict seriously my previous findings, but remained somewhat behind them. In a small detail (possible connection of P and V) my doubts were confirmed. But with regard to an important fact, which is firmly established, viz., the common ancestor of all non-Irish MSS. and its independence of the *Liber Ardmachanus* (D), the new method proved misleading; statistics would favor a close connection of DVP opposing the rest. The unique position of D is demonstrable only in passages which, being absent from one MSS. or the other were not represented in my selection of variants. Besides, the eighteen triads which I examined produced no more than three clear zeros. (The sections from which my variants were taken make up one third of the *Confessio,* and one fourth of the text total of the author's Latin writings, as contrasted with the one thirtieth of the Octateuch represented by the variants of Dom Quentin). These observations lose some of their value in view of the fact that very short texts as those of St. Patrick do not lend themselves easily to statistical examination. The late Prof. Eoin MacNeill once attempted a classification of the MSS. of St. Patrick's writings by a method which was in some measure an anticipation of Dom Quentin's. Although Prof. MacNeill's method was less elaborate, his conclusions were solid. This note is published in my *Libri Epistolarum S. Patricii Episcopi* I (1952), p. 15f.

[45] Henceforth I shall use "error" and "secondary reading" as interchangeable terms with reference to the *recensio.*

[46] *Principles of textual emendation:* Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature presented to Prof. M. K. Pope (1939), pp. 351-69.

[47] In Prof. Vinaver's language this term includes omission of lines or half-lines without *homoiotes.* The principle—optic illusion—is the same whether the scribe is mistaken about the place or about the letter from which to start.

[48] This is a truism but it is well worth re-stating as it is often ignored.

[49] With one strange exception (a^2). I wonder how the detection and emendation of a scribe's tampering with his text can be included in an attempt to state "the extent to which the work of any author may be reconstructed from a copy made by any scribe" (p. 354).

[50] See Quentin, *Essais,* p. 160; P. Collomp, pp. ii-iii.

[51] Cf. Rev. A. Merk, S.J., *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (1933), p. 40: Ex quo apparet scribam codicis (Vaticani) eisdem obtemperasse legibus psychologicis quibus alii vel inviti saepe cedunt. Neque semper in his rebus subtiles quaestiones movendae sunt, quibus rationibus ductus aliquis librarius textum omiserit, cum centies nulla alia causa fuerit nisi inadvertentia vel fatigatio.

[52] In this respect P. Collomp is somewhat inconsistent. He admits that we know too little of the functioning of memory to explain every mistake in quotations (p. 15 f.), but insists on the necessity of explaining every rejected variant. However (apart from conscious alteration, which M. Collomp at least contemplates), a lapse of memory is possible even in the short transition from exemplar to copy, and the nature of this lapse need not always be recognizable. We should certainly aim at an explanation of the variants which we reject; but sometimes we do find readings which are evidently correct, although the opposing variants are not "explainable."

[53] The onus of proof will be incumbent on the editor who maintains that his text was dictated. Such proof has been given, e.g., with regard to Jordanus de Saxonia's *Liber Vitasfratrum* by its recent editors, R. Arbesmann and W. Hümpfner (Cassiciacum I, New York, 1943, p. lxiii).

[54] Arbesmann-Hümpfner, p. lxvi.

[55] See Henry John Chaytor, *The medieval reader and textual criticism:* Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 26 (1941-42), pp. 49-56. The author points out that the ancient practice of reading aloud to oneself continued during the Middle Ages and would result in a mainly auditive memory (cf. also P. Grosjean, *Anal. Bolland.* 62, 1944, p. 68, note 1). Proof thereof is a.o. the *cursus,* which has with good reason been included among the instruments of textual criticism by Prof. A. C. Clark (*Recent developments in textual criticism,* pp. 15-18). Mr. Chaytor wisely confines textual emendation on these grounds to spelling and to the mutual substitution of words which sounded similar in pronunciation. Mr. Chaytor's views are borne out by my personal experience. Since my imagination (although not my memory) is mainly auditive, I am liable to blunders such as "week" for "weak" or "hare" for "hair." Mr. Chaytor's observations have naturally a special interest for editors of texts in vulgar Latin or in the medieval vernaculars.

[56] P. 363.

[57] P. 365.

[58] In the same spirit does P. Collomp, pp. 81, 121-3, combine the methods of Lachmann, Clark, and Quentin. Professor Pasquali, starting from a very balanced criticism of Lachmann, points out a way by which that method, freed from its limitations and imperfections, can be made the basis of a technique that is as variable as are the problems of every individual text.

[59] It is, e.g., much narrower than Prof. Vinaver's "emendable errors," some of which are demonstrably unsuitable.

[60] P. Collomp (pp. 110-119, see also p. iii) points out that for the edition of very contaminated texts the *méthode Quentin* is of no greater help than the old method; even if it were possible to draw a pedigree of the manuscripts, this would not allow mechanical choice between the variants in a given instance.

[61] As a test case I suggest the text tradition of Horace. The readings of the *Blandinianus vetustissimus,* especially the "touchstone" Sat. I. 6, 126 *campum lusumque trigonem*—once fiercely debated, now generally accepted—might indeed be more objectively evaluated by this method than by any sort of reasoning.

The procedure would be rather simple: whenever Cruquius gives a variant from his *Blandinianus vetissimus,* the full positive apparatus from all known MSS. of Horace should be drawn up, and this material be handled according to Dom Quentin's rules. This would be all the more commendable because the *schedae Cruquianae* do not allow conclusions *ex silentio.* If the stemma thus evolved should be found to confirm the views of modern text critics, all the better. (On the critical problem see now Pasquali, pp. 51, 381 ff.)

[61a] H. Kantorowicz, *Einführung,* p. 58, also demands that philologists should practice the same restraint as those engaged in the restoration of monuments. The coincidence with regard to the simile is noteworthy.

[62] Thus in the passage from St. Jerome's *Desiderii mei* (see note 44) *maxime* and *uidebatur* are corruptions of the second (and third) order, resulting from the first error *quod* for *quos.* It seems to be important for the emendation of this text that the archetype is removed from the original by at least two intermediate copies.

[63] Thus Ludwig Traube (*Kleine Schriften,* 1920, pp. 33-8) has proved that our MSS. of Ammianus Marcellinus are derived from an archetype in insular script, which was in turn copied from a lost MS. in *capitalis rustica.* The latter was probably identical with a MS. at Lorsch, of which we know; the archetype, according to Traube, was written at Fulda before 850.

[64] See W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae* (1915), p. 32.

[65] The supplemention of texts on the assumption of loss through *homoioteleuton* became a fashionable trick when the "confusion-of-capitals" theory had played out. Prof. Clark once declared it unlikely that "an interpolator would have been so cunning as to conceal his inventions by a device intended to show that their omission was palaeographically possible" (*The Descent of Manuscripts,* p. vii). He did not think of his modern colleagues. With some knowledge of an author's idiom it is easy enough to concoct a phrase which, by means of some *homoiotes* at the beginning or end, can be fitted into a text wherever it seems convenient. I was very fond of this game in my sinful youth.

[66] See *Kleine Schriften,* pp. 5-9.

[67] The contrary has been proved to be true of Ferdomnach, the scribe of the Book of Armagh. Ferdomnach was almost meticulous in copying his exemplar, but at the same time scholar enough to notice strange things in the text and mark them in the margin.

[68] *An Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation,* 1896.

[69] *Studies in the Manuscripts of the Third Decade of Livy:* Classical Philology 5 (1910), p. 25 ff.

[70] G. Udney Yule, *The statistical study of literary vocabulary,* Cambridge, 1944.

[71] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Geschichte der Philologie* (1927), p. 75.

[72] These considerations are carried to extremes by J.-J. Hartmann, *Ars critica quid sibi habeat propositum et qua utatur ratione: Mnemosyne* 48 (1920), pp. 227-38. Hartmann maintains that most errors are non-mechanical and therefore unexplainable. It would follow that the corrector of a text is allowed to push aside manuscript evidence whenever in his opinion this is demanded by the context. A great many of the emendations which are offered on the pages of *Mnemosyne* year by year do indeed invoke this principle. Yet it has been rejected convincingly in the same periodical by A. Damsté, *De arte critica,* ibid., pp. 425-33. On its proper application and its limits see now Pasquali, p. 111 ff.

[73] *Longo intervallo* may be mentioned here an emendation of mine. Ausonius, *Mosella* 204-7 describes a boat-race and its spectators:

Puppibus et proris alacres gestire magistros
Impubemque manum super amnica terga uagantem
Dum spectat transire diem, sua seria ludo
Posthabet: excludit ueteres noua gratia curas.

So all MSS. read. Scaliger located the corruption, but stopped halfway with his emendation *dies*; all later editors, if they did not follow the master, either labored to elicit some strained meaning from the text of the MSS. or changed it from bad to worse. It was the first time that I read the poem attentively when, with the visual impression of the archetype before the eye of my mind, I saw as in a flash that *diesua* was *cliessua* (i.e. *cliens sua*). *Dum spectat transire cliens, sua seria ludo posthabet.* A timeless human reaction (and one of tragic irony): the poor fellow watching the pomp of his masters forgets for a moment the misery of his own state to which he has been reduced by those whom he is watching with self-abandoning delight. Rather a rare thing in Ausonius, this intensely human trait came out as convincingly as it was unexpected. I still remember with great satisfaction the enthusiastic welcome which my discovery was given by the editor of the *Rheinisches Museum.* Palaeography does beget life at times.

[74] I say: transcended. In scholarship as in art intuition is the privilege of genius, but even to him it will not come without hard labor. The great critics knew their job from its humble beginnings. Their case is similar to that of our great composers.

[75] Housman's genius is manifest not only in his English but also in his Latin verse, which I confidently declare to be of the same order as that of the ancient poets whom he edited.

[76] I was never convinced by E. Norden's criticism (*Josephus und Tacitus über Jesus Christus:* Neue Jahrbücher 31, 1913, pp. 637-66), which in the opinion of many settled the problem once and for all. In the meantime the question has been decided in favor of the substantial authenticity of *Antiquitates* XVIII 63-64 by G. C. Richards and R. J. H. Schutt (*Classical Quarterly* 31, 1937, pp. 170 ff.; 33, 1939, pp. 180 ff. See also *Journal of Theological Studies* 42, 1941, p. 70 f.).

[77] *Progress of Medieval Studies,* Bull. 16, p. 47. This practice has a pendant in the atticistic retouches of Byzantine Greek, on which we possess some admirable pages by L. Radermacher, *Philologus* 59 (1900), pp. 170-5.

[78] See, e.g., H. J. Chaytor, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 26 (1941-2), p. 56.

[79] S. H. Thomson, l. c., p. 48, but cf. W. G. Hellinga, *Principes linguistiques d'édition de textes,* in *Lingua* 3 (1953), pp. 295-308.

[80] S. Bidez and A. B. Drachmann, *Emploi des signes critiques, disposition de l'apparat dans les éditions de textes grecs et latins,* 1938. See also the important review by U. Knoche, *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeiger* 202 (1940), pp. 515-531. For additional suggestions, cf. O. Luschnat, *Zur Editionstechnik des klassischen Philologen,* in *Wissenschaftliche Annalen,* 1952, pp. 362-375.

[81] This is my only objection to the otherwise excellent edition of Jordanus de Saxonia by R. Arbesmann and W. Hümpfner, New York, 1943. If the editors had fully accepted the implications of their *recensio,* they might have reduced their *apparatus* to one-seventh of its present extent, and book and reader would be none the worse for it.

[82] The usual glossaries are of little value; language is more than an accumulation of words.

[83] Of this type is Dr. M. Tierney's commentary on Euripides' *Hecuba,* Dublin, 1945.

[84] E.g., R. Helm's edition of Rutilius Namatianus (Heidelberg, 1933). The new Teubner edition of Plutarch's *Moralia,* which is not yet completed, comprises both elements in one set of notes. An experiment in a similar direction was the *editio maior* of Aeschylus by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

[85] That is to say, potentially. A scribe may have the intention to alter nothing, or at least need not have the intention to alter anything.

[86] It is one of the great merits of A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History,* that the author on the whole wisely restricts his scientific methods to those spheres of human experience where they are legitimate.

[87] Of this company was my old master Ludwig Radermacher. As typical of him I quote a remark which he once made about certain critics of his *Neutestamentliche Grammatik:* "These people have read a lot about Greek; but I have read more Greek than any of them."

[88] *L.c.,* p. 367 f. In a footnote (p. 367, note 2) the critic tries to save his face by a half-hearted retreat. Most of what Prof. Vinaver says is quite correct as far as it goes, but the real issue here is the principle.

[89] The same idea is prevalent in modern philology.

[90] *De vulgari eloquentia,* I. 3.

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TRANSLATIO STUDII

The New England Catholic Classical Association has recently sponsored an essay contest, open to all college students in New England, on the Christian transmission of the classics, the topic chosen for this year's essay being the notion of duty in Cicero and St. Ambrose. As the general title of *Translatio Studii*—or transfer of culture—is probably unfamiliar to many of our readers, however, an attempt to clarify its meaning and state the reasons which prompted its choice may be welcome. The expression occurs in a series of medieval texts and conveys strikingly, we feel, the thought underlying the program of the Association. The idea that culture is something which is handed down from generation to generation and that the function of scholars in every age is to preserve and develop the heritage of the past appears to have been very common in the Middle Ages and, indeed, gave rise to a literary theme which we find, in authors of varying importance, from the ninth to the fourteenth century at least. In an article which deserved wider recognition, Mr. Etienne Gilson, to whom belongs the honor of having focused attention on this theme and traced its development, has already listed a number of significant texts.[1] We should like to recall these texts, along with a few others, and, at the same time, stress their significance for our own purpose.

It is a well-known fact that the originality of the Western Middle Ages, as opposed to the Byzantine Middle Ages, is due in a large measure to the break with classical culture caused by the great barbarian invasions of the fifth century and the subsequent downfall of the Western Empire. Whereas in the East we have an uninterrupted and magnificent, though at times monotonous and repetitious, tradition of scholarship, each generation carrying on the work of the preceding age to which it was linked directly, in Western Europe we witness the sudden disruption of the ancient school system and the rapid disappearance of the old cultural ideals, followed by some two and a half centuries of almost complete darkness. This difference is felt concretely when we attempt to determine the starting point of the Middle Ages. Any date chosen to mark the beginning of

the Byzantine era will necessarily seem arbitrary. In the West, on the other hand, there seems to be little room for discussion, even if the dawn of the Middle Ages did break sooner over certain parts of the Roman Empire, such as Gaul, than over others. It is precisely because of this break with the past that the West, no longer bound by a continuous and venerable tradition, was eventually able to reorganize its intellectual life along new lines and to produce that startlingly original civilization known as the Latin Middle Ages.

In spite of this break, however, it would be erroneous to consider the cultural achievements of the West as the product of some kind of creation *ex nihilo*. The principal agents of the literary revival of the ninth century were the first to realize that they relied extensively upon the thinkers of the past and to acknowledge their debt to them. Nothing would have startled them more than to be told, like Solon in a famous passage of Plato's *Dialogues,* that they were only children, young in soul, and that they did not possess a single ancient opinion transmitted by old tradition, "nor a single piece of learning that is hoary with age." They preferred to look upon themselves as the genuine disciples and heirs of the classical writers. Their attitude was to consider that they were pursuing the work of the great men of antiquity and that their duty was to develop the treasures of wisdom which they had inherited from them. Just as knowledge and culture had once been the endowment of the Greeks and from there had passed to the Romans, so now they had emigrated to France where they once again flourished under the leadership of a number of prominent scholars, among whom the name of Alcuin deserves special mention.

Indeed, if anyone can be said to embody the spirit of the age, it is Alcuin. We are all vaguely familiar with the life story of the monk of York who felt that his services were needed on the continent and that he would find there a better opportunity to serve the cause of learning. For some fifteen years as Master of the Palace School and later as Abbot of St. Martin's at Tours, he gave himself up wholeheartedly to the task of promoting scholarship and of forming disciples who would, in turn, carry on his mission in remote parts of the Carolingian Empire. There are few examples in the history of humanism of a life

more entirely dedicated to the diffusion of knowledge and of a more enduring interest in the things of the mind. Alcuin may have been more intent upon preserving the intellectual inheritance of the past and passing it on to his fellow men than in opening new vistas in science; yet the services that he rendered in this respect, at a time when the wisdom of the past might have been permanently lost, as well as his importance in the intellectual evolution of the western world, can hardly be overemphasized.

One is not surprised, therefore, to find that as early as the ninth century Alcuin was hailed as one of the champions of culture and that his name had become the symbol, as it were, of the intellectual aspirations of the age. The first evidence recorded by history to this effect seems to be the testimony of the chronicler of St. Gall, who states that "the knowledge of Alcuin bore fruit to such an extent that the Gauls, or Franks, of today have become the equals of the Greeks and the Romans of old." [2] The memory of these accomplishments lingered for a long time in the minds of historians. Centuries later, in a work which was universally known and read, Vincent of Beauvais reiterated the tribute already paid to Alcuin by the anonymous chronicler of the ninth century:

> Hoc itaque monasterium post hoc, ut dictum est, donante Carolo, suscepit regendum Alchuinus scientia vitaque praeclarus, qui et sapientiae studium de Roma Parisiis transtulit, quod illuc quondam a Graecia translatum fuit a Romanis.[3]

The same thought occurs in the *Great Chronicles of France,* in a passage inspired both in its form and in its content by the chronicler of St. Gall and by Vincent.[4] Finally, a chapter of the *Compendiloquium* of John of Wales (c. 1300) is entitled characteristically: *De translatione studii usque Parisium et quo tempore et a quibus translatum fuit.*[5]

This theme of the transfer of culture, already attested in the course of the century that followed Alcuin's death, seems to have taken on a new and more pregnant meaning during the so-called Renaissance of the twelfth century. Like their fore-

bears of the time of Charlemagne, though in a different vein, the courtly writers of the period, such as the unknown author of the *Novel of Thebes* or Benedict of Saint-Maur, the author of the *Novel of Troy,* prided themselves on being the true descendants of the bards of old. The one to have given the idea its fullest expression is undoubtedly Chrétien de Troyes, in the opening lines of his *Cliges.* Few authors of that period have celebrated with greater pride and conviction the glorious migration of wisdom and chivalry from Greece to Rome and thence to France, taken here not as a nation in the modern sense of the word, but as a cultural unity:

> From the books that have been preserved we learn the deeds of men of old and of the times long since gone by. Our books have informed us that the pre-eminence in chivalry and learning once belonged to Greece. Then chivalry passed to Rome together with that highest learning which now has come to France. God grant that it may be cherished here, and that it may be made so welcome that the honor which has taken refuge with us may never depart from France.

What is remarkable from our point of view in these lines is not so much the sentiment of national pride, already expressed, and with greater force, in the *Chansons de Gestes,* as the author's truly humanistic approach to the problem of culture. Clearly, Chrétien feels that he belongs to a long tradition of scholarship, the best of which is to be found in "the books that have been preserved," in "our books." It is true that the association of chivalry and learning—or "clergy," to use the original term—has a singularly medieval ring, and no doubt in binding closely the two notions, the author is reading his own thoughts into the past to a certain extent. Yet this anachronism, if it is true, should not blind us to the fact that he considered himself, and wished to be considered by his readers, as a link in a chain that extends far beyond his own generation.

As is not uncommon in such matters, a writer who appropriates an idea already expressed by others before him will feel the need to outdo his predecessors. Froissart, who, in the Preface

to his *Chronicles,* describes in similar fashion the evolution of chivalry down to his day, is not content to trace its origins back to the Greeks and the Romans; he discovers its first manifestations among the Chaldeans and afterwards among the Jews and the Persians. Furthermore, if one were to read his works more closely, one might find that, though the words used are roughly the same, the ideas they express are not precisely those of the preceding age. It is more than likely that by that time the notion of chivalry had already undergone a radical change. The author, according to all appearances, is more interested in the battle for its own sake than in the cause for which it is being waged. Apart from this consideration, however, the ideal that he defends is still linked in his mind with the accomplishments of the great civilizations of the past and, as such, bears witness to the persistence of a tradition to which the writers of that period were still proud to belong.

It should be noted, lastly, that the men with whom the preservation of this noble heritage rested realized that they could not cling to it selfishly. One must look not only toward the past but toward the future. The honor of being the depository of precious spiritual treasures entails, among other obligations, that of transmitting these treasures to the future generations. As Marie de France writes in the Prologue to her *Lays*:

> Those to whom God has given the gift of comely speech should not hide their light beneath a bushel, but should willingly show it abroad. If a great truth is proclaimed in the ears of men, it brings forth fruit a hundredfold; but when the sweetness of the telling is praised of many, flowers mingle with the fruit upon the branch.

The writer who thus fulfills his mission will not die altogether; he is assured of a place in the memories of men for all time to come. The idea of immortality as achieved through a work of art may impress us as being typically pagan, and it brings to mind a number of famous passages found in classical authors. It has been shown, nevertheless, that for the medieval mind this commonplace also harks back to those passages of the *Book of Wisdom* alluding to the necessity of passing on without envy

the God-given wisdom that it is our privilege to share. Thus thoughts that were familiar to classical literature blended with the Bible to produce that peculiar form of humanism so characteristic of the Middle Ages.

* * * *

As one rereads these texts, one realizes that the men of the Middle Ages were perhaps not, after all, as hostile to the purely human aspects of culture as some historians of the past would have us believe. It was customary, not so long ago, to present the Middle Ages as a period of antihumanism, dominated by an otherworldly conception of life and, therefore, indifferent by principle to the values that we usually include under humanism. For Voltaire, French literature did not come into being until the sixteenth century. The first writer worth mentioning was Rabelais, and all that preceded his work would be conveniently dismissed under the label "Gothic barbarity." During the romantic period, Michelet could still define the Middle Ages as "a phrase of Porphyry in the translation of Boethius," and most of his readers were prepared to accept the verdict. It should be stated in all fairness that the methods used by these historians did not allow them to acquire much of the information necessary to correct these views. They relied almost exclusively upon printed sources, and these were usually very scanty concerning the period under consideration. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the modern techniques of historical research began to be used on a large scale. We tend to forget, for example, that many of the literary masterpieces of the Middle Ages were unknown a little over a century ago. The *Song of Roland,* to mention only one of the most famous, was published for the first time in 1832. Though much has been done since then to broaden our horizon and impose a view that corresponds more closely to fact, the inveterate prejudice against the Middle Ages is still felt in certain intellectual circles, and many university professors today deplore the fact that medieval studies have failed to reach the broad audience they deserve.

It is significant, on the other hand, that the renewal of interest in culture that we observe in the Carolingian period was largely, in the beginning, the work of an English monk. If one

were to seek the first signs of the future Renaissance of the ninth century, one would undoubtedly have to go back to the Irish monks of the sixth century, well protected by their isolation and rigorous asceticism against the ravages of Mediterranean paganism. The remark has often been made that the attitude of these Celtic monks toward pagan or profane culture was in general more optimistic than that of the writers on the continent and, in particular, than that of the Christian writers of late antiquity. In most cases, the Fathers of the late Roman Empire were themselves products of that pagan culture. They were indebted to it for their intellectual formation, as there did not exist at the time an independent Christian culture that might have dispensed them from reading the pagan classics. The authors read and explained in class were those who had molded generations of children in the purest pagan tradition. It goes without saying that some parts of these works appeared highly objectionable in the light of Christian teaching and morals. Anyone who has read the *Confessions* of St. Augustine will have some idea of how the ways of the pagan gods as portrayed by Terence, for example, were likely to impress a Christian of the fourth or the fifth century. Enhanced by literary qualities that had no parallel anywhere, these works presented dangers against which it was necessary to take the proper precautions. That the stand of the Fathers toward pagan literature should have been ambiguous is, therefore, no mystery. Even as late as the sixth century, men like St. Benedict still felt intensely the need to break with a world that did not correspond fully to the requirements of their faith and to seek refuge in the wilderness, away from the perils of a corrupt civilization.

Not so with the English and Irish monks who were to play such an important part in the development of the new culture of the Middle Ages. Having been educated in an entirely Christian atmosphere they were liberated interiorly from the start and felt none of the distrust of their ancestors of the Patristic Age toward classical literature. The pagan gods had long ceased to be the rivals of the true God in the hearts of men and even monks could, with little danger, read the classics and gather from them whatever elements could be integrated into a Christian framework. It is not surprising, therefore, that scholars

like Alcuin could present themselves openly, as we have seen, as the successors and heirs of the Greeks and the Romans.

Still more important perhaps is the manner in which the scholars of the Middle Ages read the writers of the past. Time does not allow us to dwell extensively on this point, though its importance cannot be exaggerated. The very fact that Alcuin and his followers considered themselves the disciples of the classical authors is an indication of the respect in which these were held. Far from assuming that they were superior to the ancients in every respect, their foremost preoccupation was to preserve the treasures of human culture that had been accumulated by their predecessors. Everything points to the fact that they treated the men of the past with far more consideration than many modern scholars. The attitude of modern scholarship was for a long time, and is still today in many circles, to consider the thought of our own age as essentially superior to the thought of the past. Once this principle is accepted, it becomes increasingly difficult to take the writers of the past seriously. Thus the tendency has been to read the classical authors in much the same manner as a chemist today reads the works of Lavoisier, that is to say, from a purely historical point of view and not at all because we may still have something to learn from them. By this very fact, the classics have seemed to lose much of their vital interest. We might even say, without indulging in paradox, that the decline of classical studies, so characteristic of our times, is due largely to the classical scholars themselves. If the classics are really dead, why bother with them, and why not simply let the dead bury the dead?

In view of the present crisis of classical studies, it seems more than ever necessary to reconsider the modern position. The peculiar situation in which we find ourselves suggests that perhaps our own accomplishments not only have not invalidated those of the past, but have often failed to match them. That more and more scholars today are prepared to admit that the ancients have more to offer than was commonly assumed two generations ago is indicative of this new trend. The renewed interest in classical and, now, patristic studies is another manifestation of the same phenomenon. In like manner, we are perhaps in a better position to understand that attitude of

the medieval scholars with regard to the ancients and, in certain cases, to share it. The greatest among the medieval Christian writers felt that they could not shun the work of their predecessors if they were to produce anything of value themselves. In the well-known words of Peter of Blois, "we are like dwarfs hoisted on the shoulders of these giants; if we see farther than they, it is thanks to them precisely." However prudent the Fathers of the Church may have been, they at least realized that whatever progress they could accomplish would come about not by a denial of the past, but by a serious effort to build upon it. Recent experience, if nothing else, has taught us that it is usually dangerous to rely exclusively upon our own "bank and capital," in Burke's phrase, and to refuse to take the past into account. The most reasonable position may well be the one that invites us to look toward both the past and the future before embarking on a new adventure. St. Augustine may have had something like this in mind when he wrote in the *City of God* (xi, 21):

> It is not as if the knowledge of God were of various kinds, knowing in different ways things which as yet are not, things which are, and things which have been. For not in our fashion does He look forward to what is future, nor at what is present, nor back upon what is past; but in a manner quite different and far and profoundly remote from our way of thinking.

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[1] *L'Humanisme médiéval,* in *Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne,* March, 1930, pp. 1-17; reprinted in E. Gilson, *Les Idées et les lettres,* Paris, 1932, pp. 171-196.

[2] *Monum. Germ. Hist., Scriptores,* Vol. II, p. 731; cf. Gilson, *Les Idées et les lettres,* p. 183.

[3] *Speculum Historiale,* Lib. XXIII, cap. 173; cf. Gilson. *loc. cit.*

[4] *Les Grandes Chroniques de France,* edited by J. Viard, Paris, 1923, Vol. III, pp. 168-169; cf. Gilson, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Summa Joannis Valensis de Regimine Vitae Humanae seu Margarita Doctorum,* Bibl. Nat., Res. D. 17239 and 17240; cf. Gilson, *loc. cit.*

EURIPIDEAN INFLUENCE ON THE TRAGEDIANS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

WHEN, in the *Ars Poetica,* Horace says *Graecia capta cepit ferum victorem et artes intulit agresti Latio,* he gives classic expression to a commonplace destined to be repeated for the next two thousand years: Greek letters shaped and formed the Roman culture. The Romans in their turn moulded the literatures of our Western world. However, the validation of this sweeping assertion, the demonstration with verse and chapter, the specifics are far from having been supplied. The following pages represent an effort to supply this desideratum in the case of Euripides.

The work has been considerably lightened by Otto Ribbeck's *Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta,* which in every instance provides the original model or inspiration for given passages of Ennius, Pacuvius or the other writers who first introduced the Romans to belles lettres. In Ribbeck's masterly work, the primary concern is with the Latin writers and only secondarily with their models. The same holds true for Warmington's *Remains of Old Latin.*

The following study looks forward down the vista of the ages. The splendid vision of the graceful, exquisitely proportioned Hellenic expression of universal humanity's thoughts and emotions is here juxtaposed against the often bumbling, fumbling and inept "translation" or imitation by the masters of the ancient world. The present method of presentation by contrast vividly brings out the awesome commanding majesty of that Hellenic genius to which we are all tributary, which, in very truth, took captive the savage conqueror and all those who have filiation to him.

Holy Cross students engaged in the Greek Honors Course have laboriously conned the pages of Ribbeck and Warmington so that no particle of a good gift should escape them. Principally responsible for the final result are Terence F. Gilheany, John H. Hutchinson, Robert L. Kane and Charles M. Madden. In quoting Euripides, Gilbert Murray's critical edition (in the

Oxford Classical Texts) has been consistently used unless—and this is exceedingly rare—the more recent editions of the individual plays by Dale, Denniston, Dodds, Page or Platnauer offer a better text. Page references for the Latin are to Ribbeck's second edition. Translations from the Greek are usually from the version of Way, except in the case of the Fragments. The translations of the Latin are from Warmington.

I

Euripides: Medea (texts and translations)

1. Εἴθ' ὤφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος
Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν κυανέας Συμπληγάδας,
μηδ' ἐν νάπαισι Πηλίου πεσεῖν ποτε
τμηθεῖσα πεύκη, μηδ' ἐρετμῶσαι χέρας
ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων, οἳ τὸ πάγχρυσον δέρας
Πελίᾳ μετῆλθον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέσποιν' ἐμὴ
Μήδεια πύργους γῆς ἔπλευσ' Ἰωλκίας
ἔρωτι θύμον ἐκπαγλεῖσ' Ἰάσονος.

—*Medea,* 1-8.

Would God that Argo's hull had never flown
Through those blue Clashing Rocks to Kolchis-land,
Nor that in Pelion's glens had fallen ever
The axe-hewn pine, nor filled with oars the hands
Of hero-princes, who at Pelias' hest
Quested the Golden Fleece! My mistress then,
Medea, to Iolkos' towers had sailed not
With love for Jason thrilled through all her soul, . . .

2. παλαιὸν οἴκων κτῆμα δεσποίνης ἐμῆς,
τί πρὸς πύλαισι τήνδ' ἄγουσ' ἐρημίαν
ἔστηκας, αὐτὴ θρεομένη σαυτῇ κακά;

—*Medea,* 50-51.

O ancient chattel of my mistress' home,
Why at the gates thus lonely standest thou,
Thyself unto thyself discoursing ills?

I

Euripides: Medea (Latin imitations)

1. Utinám ne in nemore Pélio secúribus
Caesa áccedisset ábiegna ad térram trabes,
Neue índe nauis íncohandae exórdium
Coepísset, quae nunc nóminatur nómine
Argó, quia Argui ín ea delectí uiri
Vectí petebant péllem inauratam árietis
Colchís, imperio régis Peliae, pér dolum.
Nam númquam era errans méa domo ecferrét pedem
Medéa, animo aegra, amóre saeuo saúcia.
Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, pp. 43-45).

Would that the firwood timbers had not fallen to earth hewn by axes in a Pelian grove; and that thereupon no prelude had been made to begin the ship which is now known by the name of Argo, for that chosen Argive heroes were carried in it when they were seeking the golden fleece of the ram of Colchis, by trickery, at the behest of King Pelias. For thus never would my misled mistress Medea, sick at heart, smitten by savage love, have set foot outside her home. (Warmington I, 313.)

Notes:

Citations in subsequent Latin writers: Cicero, *de fato* 15, 35; *de fin.* I 2, 4; *de invent.* I 49, 91; *de nat. deor.* III 30, 75; *pro Cael.* 8, 18; *Tusc. disp;* I 20, 45; Orosius I, 12. Phaedrus IV 7, 5. Quintilian V 10, 84. Varro *de L. Lat.* VII, 33.

2. Antiqua erilis fída custos córporis,
Quid síc te extra aedis éxanimata elíminas?
—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 46).

You aged faithful woman, guardian of your mistress' person, wherefore bring you yourself thus outdoors, forspent outside your dwelling? (Warmington I, 313.)

3. ὥσθ' ἵμερος ὑπῆλθε γῇ τε κοὐρανῷ
λέξαι μολούσῃ δεῦρο δεσποίνης τύχας.
—*Medea,* 57-58.

That yearning took me hitherward to come
And tell to earth and heaven my lady's fortunes.

4. ἔκλυον φωνάν, ἔκλυον δὲ βοὰν
τὰς δυστάνου Κολχίδος . . .
—*Medea,* 131-132.

I have hearkened the voice of the daughter of Kolchis, the sound of the crying. . . .

5. Κορίνθιαι γυναῖκες, ἐξῆλθον δόμων,
μή μοί τι μέμφησθ'· οἶδα γὰρ πολλοὺς βροτῶν
σεμνοὺς γεγῶτας, τοὺς μὲν ὀμμάτων ἄπο,
τοὺς δ' ἐν θυραίοις· οἱ δ' ἀφ' ἡσύχου ποδὸς
δύσκλειαν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ῥαθυμίαν.
—*Medea,* 213-217.

Corinthian dames, I have come forth my doors
Lest ye should blame me. Many folk I know
Accounted haughty, some, for proud staid mien,
Some, stranger-shy: and some, that softly go,
Have gotten ill-repute of indolence.

3. Cupído cepit míseram nunc me próloqui
Caelo átque terrae Médeaï míserias.
—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 46).

Now has a desire taken hold of me, poor wretch, to speak out to heaven and earth Medea's miseries. (Warmington I, 315.)

NOTES:
Cited by Cicero, *Tusc. disp.* III 26, 63.

4. . . . fluctus uérborum aures aúcupant.
—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 46).

A flood [Warmington, translating from Vahlen's edition which gives the reading *fructus:* harvest] of words catches the ears. (Warmington I, 323.)

5. Quaé Corinthum arcem áltam habetis, mátronae opulentae, óptumates! . . .
Múlti suam rem béne gessere et públicam patriá procul,
Múlti, qui aétatem agerent, própter ea sunt ínprobati.
—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, pp. 46-47).

You well-to-do and well-born ladies, who have for your own the lofty stronghold Corinth, many there are who have performed well their own and their commonweal's tasks far from the fatherland; and many there are who because they passed their days at home were for this held in no honor. (Warmington I, 315.)

NOTES:
Cited by Cicero, *ad famil.* VII, 6.
Resemblance to Euripides passage noted Politian, *Misc.* c. 27, and Muret, *Var. lect.* VIII 17, both of whom observe that Ennius misunderstood his model.

6. . . . ὡς τρὶς ἂν παρ᾽ ἀσπίδα
στῆναι θέλοιμ᾽ ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ.

—*Medea,* 250-251.

. . . thrice would I under shield
Stand, rather than bear childbirth peril once.

7. καὶ μή τι μέλλειν· ὡς ἐγὼ βραβεὺς λόγου
τοῦδ᾽ εἰμι . . .

—*Medea,* 274.

And make no tarrying: daysman of this cause
Am I. . . .

ἀλλ᾽ ἔξιθ᾽ ὡς τάχιστα, μὴ λόγους λέγε·

—*Medea,* 321.

But forth with all speed: plead me pleadings none.

8. . . . προυννέπω δέ σοι,
εἴ σ᾽ ἡ ᾽πιοῦσα λαμπὰς ὄψεται θεοῦ
καὶ παῖδας ἐντὸς τῆσδε τερμόνων χθονός,
θανῇ.

—*Medea,* 354-357.

. . . But I forewarn thee,
If thee the approaching Sun-god's torch behold
Within this country's confines with thy sons,
Thou diest: . . .

6. . . . nam tér sub armis málim uitam cérnere,
Quam semel modo párere.
—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 47).

. . . for I would fain make trial of my life thrice under arms, than give birth just once. (Warmington I, 317.)

NOTES:

Cited by Varro, *de l. L.* VI 81 M.

7. Animum aduorte ac dícto pare!

* * *

Praetér rogitatum si hísces.
—*Ex incertis incertorum fabulis* (Ribbeck, p. 258).

Pay attention and obey the command!
If you utter (aught) besides what is demanded . . .

NOTES:

Cited by Cicero, *pro Rabirio Post.* 11, 29.
Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by Scaliger, *Coni.* 60.

8. Si té secundo lúmine hic offéndero,
Moriére.
—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, pp. 47-48).

If one day hence I do light upon you, you shall die. (Warmington I, 317.)

NOTES:

Cited by Cicero, *pro Rabirio Post.* 11, 29; *ad Attic.* VII 26, 1.
Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by Scaliger, *Coni.* 60.

9. κακῶς πέπρακται πανταχῇ· τίς ἀντερεῖ;
—*Medea,* 364.

'Tis ill done every way; who shall gainsay?

10. ἀλλ' οὔτι ταύτῃ ταῦτα, μὴ δοκεῖτέ πω.
ἔτ' εἴσ' ἀγῶνες τοῖς νεωστὶ νυμφίοις
καὶ τοῖσι κηδεύσασιν οὐ σμικροὶ πόνοι.
δοκεῖς γὰρ ἄν με τάνδε θωπεῦσαί ποτε,
εἰ μή τι κερδαίνουσαν ἢ τεχνωμένην;
οὐδ ἂν προσεῖπον οὐδ' ἂν ἡψάμην χεροῖν.
—*Medea,* 365-370.

Yet nowise is this: deem not so yet.
Bridegroom and bride grim conflicts yet await;
Nor troubles light abide these marriage-makers.
Think'st thou that I had cringed to yon man ever,
Except to gain some gain, or work some wile?

11. ὁ δ' ἐς τοσοῦτον μωρίας ἀφίκετο,
ὥστ' ἐξὸν αὐτῷ τἄμ' ἐλεῖν βουλεύματα
γῆς ἐκβαλόντι, τήνδ' ἀφῆκεν ἡμέραν
μεῖναί μ', ἐν ᾗ τρεῖς τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν νεκροὺς
θήσω, πατέρα τε καὶ κόρην πόσιν τ' ἐμόν. . . .
πικροὺς δ' ἐγώ σφιν καὶ λυγροὺς θήσω γάμους,
πικρὸν δὲ κῆδος καὶ φυγὰς ἐμὰς χθονός.
—*Medea,* 371-375, 399-400.

But to such height of folly hath he come,
That, when he might forestall mine every plot
By banishment, this day of grace he grants me
To stay, wherein three foes will I lay dead,
The father, and the daughter, and mine husband. . . .
Bitter and woeful bridal will I give them,
Bitter troth-plight and banishing of me.

9. Quám magis aerumna úrget, tam magis ád male faciendúm uiget.
—*Ex incertis incertorum fabulis* (Ribbeck, p. 259).

The more suffering impels, so much the more does it drive to do wrong.

NOTES:
Cited by Quintilian IX 3, 15.
Resemblance to Euripides passage first noted by Ribbeck.

10. Néquaquam istuc ístac ibit: mágna inest certátio.
Nám ut ego illi súpplicarem tánta blandiloquéntia,
Ni ob rem?
—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 48).

In no way thither shall the business go; not on that course; great is the striving within it. What! Would I have humbled myself with such charm of speech were it not to my purpose? (Warmington I, 319.)

NOTES:
Cited by Cicero, *de nat. deor.* III 25, 65.

11. Ille trauersa ménte mi hodie trádidit repágula,
Quíbus ego iram omném recludam atque ílli perniciém dabo,
Míhi maerores, ílli luctum, exítium illi, exiliúm mihi.
—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 48).

Yonder wretch crooked in soul has this day given me charge of bolts and bars whereby I shall let open all my wrath and make ruin for him, yes sorrows for me, grief for him, for me a banishment, for him a bane. (Warmington I, 319.)

NOTES:
Cited by Cicero, *de nat. deor.* III 25, 66.

12. σὺ δ' ἐκ μὲν οἴκων πατρίων ἔπλευσας
μαινομένᾳ κραδίᾳ . . .

—*Medea,* 431-2.

But thou from the ancient home didst sail over leagues of foam,
On-sped by a frenzied heart. . . .

13. ἔσωσά σ', ὡς ἴσσιν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι
ταὐτὸν συνεισέβησαν Ἀργῷον σκάφος,
πεμφθέντα ταύρων πυρπνόων ἐπιστάτην
ζεύγλῃσι καὶ σπεροῦντα θανάσιμον γύην·

—*Medea,* 476-479.

I saved thee, as they know, what Greeks soe'er
Entered with thee the self-same Argo's hull,
Thee, sent to quell the flame-outbreathing bulls
With yoke-bands, and to sow the tilth of death.

14. νῦν ποῖ τράπωμαι; πότερα πρὸς πατρὸς δόμους,
οὕς σοὶ προδοῦσα καὶ πάτραν ἀφικόμην;
ἢ πρὸς ταλαίνας Πελιάδας; . . .

—*Medea,* 502-504.

Now, whither turn I?—to my father's house,
Which, with my country, I for thee cast off?
To Pelias' hapless daughters?

15. . . . ὡς Ἔρως σ' ἠνάγκασε
τόξοις ἀφύκτοις τοὐμὸν ἐκσῶσαι δέμας.

—*Medea,* 530-531.

. . . how Love, by strong compulsion
Of shafts unerring, made thee save my life?

12. Utinam ne umquam, Méde, Colchis cúpido corde pédem extulisses!

—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 50).

O Medea of Colchis, would that you had not ever with hankering heart set foot
Outside. . . . (Warmington I, 321.)

NOTES:

Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by Helmsley.

13. Nón commemoro quód draconis saéui sopiui ímpetum,
Nón quod domui uím taurorum et ségetis armataé manus.

—*Ex incertis incertorum fabulis* (Ribbeck, p. 260).

. . . I say no word of how I lulled
To sleep the fury of the savage snake,
Nor how I tamed the temper of the bulls,
And the stout valour of the warrior crop.
(Warmington I, 321.)

14. Quo núnc me uortam? quód iter incipiam íngredi?
Domúm paternamne ánne ad Peliae fílias?

—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 50).

Whither shall I turn now? What road set out
To tread? Toward my father's home, or what?
To Pelias' daughters? . . . (Warmington I, 321.)

NOTES:

Cited or imitated by Cicero, *de Oratore* III 56, 214; 217; *pro Murena* 41, 88; Quintilian XI 3, 115.

15. Tú me amoris mágis quam honoris séruauisti grátia.

—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 49).

You saved me more for love's sake than for honor's.
(Warmington I, 323.)

NOTES:

Cited by Cicero, *Tusc. disp.* IV 32, 69.

16. οὕτως ἔρως σοὶ πρὸς θεῶν τελεσφόρος
γένοιτο παίδων, καὐτὸς ὄλβιος θάνοις.
—*Medea,* 714-715.

So by heaven's blessing fruitful be thy love
In children, and in death thyself be blest.

17. ὦ Ζεῦ Δίκη τε Ζηνὸς Ἡλίου τε φῶς, . . .
—*Medea,* 764.

Zeus, Justice child of Zeus, and Light of the Sun, . . .

18. ΧΟ. ἀλλὰ κτανεῖν σὸν σπέρμα τολμήσεις, γύναι;
ΜΗ. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα δηχθείη πόσις.
—*Medea,* 816-817.

Chor. Woman, wilt have the heart to slay thy sons?
Med. Yea: so mine husband's heart shall most be wrung.

ἐρρέτω φίλος σὺν ἐχθρῷ.
—Fr. 294 N.

Let friend go to ruin with foe.

19. . . . δότ', ὦ τέκνα,
δότ' ἀσπάσασθαι μητρὶ δεξιὰν χέρα.
—*Medea,* 1069-1070.

Give, O my babes,
Give to your mother the right hand to kiss.

16. Ut tibi Titánis Triuia déderit líberum.
—Ennius, *Incerti nominis reliquiae* (Ribbeck, p. 68).

As Trivia, Titan's daughter, will grant you offspring of children. (Warmington I, 260.)

NOTES:
Cited by Varro, *de l. L.* VII 16 M.
Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by O. Mueller.

17. Sol, quí candentem in cáelo sublimát facem.
—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 49).

. . . The sun,
Who lifts aloft in heaven his blazing brand.
(Warmington I, 323.)

18. Pereánt amici, dum ínimici una intércidant!
—*Ex incertis incertorum fabulis* (Ribbeck, p. 259).

Then perish friends, so long as foes fall with them!
(Warmington II, 601.)

NOTES:
Cited by Cicero, *pro rege Deiotaro* 9, 25; Augustine, *ctra. Faustum* 16.
Ladevicus, *Anal. scen,* p. 17, notes resemblance to Euripides, *Medea* 816. Ribbeck (*Quaest, scen.* 251) maintains that the resemblance to Fr. 294 N is even closer.

19. . . . saluete óptima corpora!
Cétte manus uestrás measque accipite!
—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 49).

Goodbye, you dearest little things; there now!
Give me your hands and you take mine.
(Warmington I, 323.)

20. ἰὼ Γᾶ τε καὶ παμφαὴς
ἀκτὶς Ἀελίου, κατίδετ' ἴδετε τὰν
ὀλομέναν γυναῖκα, πρὶν φοινίαν
τέκνοις προσβαλεῖν χέρ' αὐτοκτόνον·
—*Medea,* 1251-1254.

O Earth, O all-revealing splendour
Of the Sun, look down on a woman accurst,
Or ever she slake the murder-thirst
Of a mother whose hands would smite the tender
Fruit of her womb.

II. Euripides: Hecuba (texts and translations)

21. . . . οἶδμ' ἁλός . . .
—*Hecuba,* 26.

[Slays, and the slaughtered wretch mid] sea-surge [cast].

22. ὦ στεροπὰ Διός, ὦ σκοτία νύξ, . . .
—*Hecuba,* 68.

O lightning-splendour of Zeus, O mirk of the night, . . .

20. Iúppiter tuque ádeo summe Sól, qui res omnís spicis,
Quíque tuo [cum] lúmine mare térram caelum cóntines,
Inspice hoc facinús, prius quam fíat: prohibesseís scelus!
—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 50).

O Jupiter, and thou too, Sun most high,
Who lookest upon all things, and pervadest
Sea, land and sky with thy light, look on this
Dread deed before 'tis done; prevent this sin.
(Warmington I, 325.)

II. Euripides: Hecuba (Latin imitations)

21. . . . undantém salum.
—Ennius, *Hecuba* (Ribbeck, p. 36).

. . . the surging sea (or)
. . . the billowing brine. (Warmington I, 291.)

Notes:
Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by Hermann.

22. O mágna templa caélitum, commíxta stellis spléndidis!
—Ennius, *Hecuba* (Ribbeck, p. 36).

You mighty precincts of all those who dwell
In heaven, commingled with the shining stars, . . .
(Warmington I, 293.)

Notes:
Cited by Varro, *de l. L.* VII 6 M.
Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by Scaliger.

23. τὸ δ' ἀξίωμα, κἂν κακῶς λέγῃς, τὸ σὸν
πείσει· λόγος γὰρ ἔκ τ' ἀδοξούντων ἰὼν
κἀκ τῶν δοκούντων αὐτὸς οὐ ταὐτὸν σθένει.
—*Hecuba,* 293-295.

Thine high repute, how ill soe'er thou speak,
Shall sway them: for the same speech carrieth not
Like weight from men contemned and men revered.

24. ὑμεῖς δέ μ' ἀλλὰ θυγατρὶ συμφονεύσατε,
—*Hecuba,* 391.

Yet ye—at least me with my daughter slay: . . .

25. φεῦ φεῦ· γέρων μὲν εἰμ', ὅμως δέ μοι θανεῖν
εἴη, πρὶν αἰσχρᾷ περιπεσεῖν τύχῃ τινι.
—*Hecuba,* 497-498.

Ah, old am I, yet be it mine to die
Ere into any shameful lot I fall!

23. Haéc tu etsi peruérse dices, fácile Achiuos fléxeris:
Nám opulenti cúm locuntur páriter atque ignóbiles,
Eadem dicta eadémque oratio aéqua non aequé ualet.
—Ennius, *Hecuba* (Ribbeck, p. 37).

Although this message you will give is crooked,
An easy task you'll find to sway the Achivi;
For when the well-to-do and lowly born
Speak in like purport, yet their words and speech,
Though equal and alike, have not like weight.
(Warmington I, 293.)

NOTES:

Aulus Gellius, XI 4, quotes these lines and notes their resemblance to ll. 293-295 of Euripides' *Hecuba.*

24. Extémplo acceptam mé necato et fíliam.
—Ennius, *Incerti nominis reliquiae* (Ribbeck, p. 67).

Straightway take and kill me and my daughter.

NOTES:

Cited by Varro, *de l. L.* VII, 13 M.
Resemblance to Euripides passage pointed out by Bothe.

25. Senéx sum: utinam mortem óppetam, prius quam éuenat
Quod ín pauperie meá senex grauitér gemam!
—Ennius, *Hecuba* (Ribbeck, p. 37).

I am an old man; would that I could meet
My death before a thing should come to pass
Which in my poverty and age I should
Loudly bewail. (Warmington I, 295.)

NOTES:

Resemblance to Euripides passage first pointed out by Columna.

26. . . . θεῶν ἀναγκαῖον τόδε.

—*Hecuba,* 584.

. . . 'tis heaven's resistless doom.

27. . . . οὔκουν δεινόν, εἰ γῆ μὲν κακὴ
τυχοῦσα καιροῦ θεόθεν εὖ στάχυν φέρει,
χρηστὴ δ' ἁμαρτοῦσ' ὧν χρεὼν αὐτὴν τυχεῖν
κακὸν δίδωσι καρπόν, ἀνθρώποις δ' ἀεὶ
ὁ μὲν πονηρὸς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν κακός, . . .

—*Hecuba,* 592-595.

. . . Lo, how strange, that evil soil
Heaven-blest with seasons fair, bears goodly crops,
While the good, if it faileth of its dues,
Gives evil fruit: but always among men
The caitiff nothing else than evil is, . . .

28. . . . κεῖνος ὀλβιώτατος,
ὅτῳ κατ' ἦμαρ τυγχάνει μηδὲν κακόν.

—*Hecuba,* 627-628.

. . . Most blest is he
To whom no ill befalls as days wear on.

26. Vetér fatorum términus sic íusserat.
—Accius, *Hecuba* (Ribbeck p. 198).

Thus had ordained the ancient limit, set
By the Fates. . . . (Warmington II, 453.)

NOTES:
Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by Heimsoeth.

27. Probae étsi in segetem súnt deteriorém datae
Frugés, tamen ipsae suápte natura énitent.
—Accius, *Atreus* (Ribbeck, p. 166).

Though placed in poorer soil good seed can yet
Of its own nature bear a shining crop.

(J. E. King, tr. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* II, v. 13, Loeb edition, 1927.)

NOTES:
Cited by Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, II V, 13.
It has been observed that these verses do not resemble very closely the passage from Euripides on which they have allegedly been modeled.

28. Nimiúm boni est, cui níl malist. . . .
—Ennius, *Incerti nominis reliquiae* (Ribbeck, p. 67).

A passing good thing has the man who suffers
No ill for one day. (Warmington I, 295, translating *Nimium boni est* [*huic*] *cui nihil est mali* [*in diem*].

NOTES:
Cited by Cicero, *de fin.* II 13, 41; Publilius Syrus 430 W.
Resemblance to Euripides passage pointed out by Muretus, *Var. lect*, V, 13.

29. Πειθὼ δὲ τὴν τύραννον ἀνθρώποις μόνην
—*Hecuba,* 816.

(Yet) Suasion, the unrivalled queen of men. . . .

30. ἢ τῶν ἐν εὐνῇ φιλτάτων ἀσπασμάτων
χάριν τίν' ἕξει παῖς ἐμή, κείνης δ' ἐγώ;
—*Hecuba,* 829-830.

Or for the loving-kindness of the couch
What thank shall my child have, or I for her?

31. εἴ τις γυναῖκας τῶν πρὶν εἴρηκεν κακῶς
ἢ νῦν λέγων ἔστιν τις ἢ μέλλει λέγειν,
ἅπαντα ταῦτα συντεμὼν ἐγὼ φράσω·
γένος γὰρ οὔτε πόντος οὔτε γῆ τρέφει
τοιόνδ'· ὁ δ' αἰεὶ ξυντυχὼν ἐπίσταται.
—*Hecuba,* 1178-1182.

Whoso ere now hath spoken ill of women,
Or speaketh now, or shall hereafter speak,
All this in one word will I close and say:—
Nor sea nor land doth nurture such a breed:
He knoweth, who hath converse with them most.

III. Euripides: Iphigenia in Tauris (Texts and Translations)

32. Ἕλληνες· ἓν' τοῦτ' οἶδα κοὐ περαιτέρω.
—*Iphigenia in Tauris,* 247.

Hellenes, this one thing know I; nought beside.

29. O flexanima atque ómnium regína rerum orátio!
—Pacuvius, *Hermiona* (Ribbeck, p. 98).

O you soul-bending queen of all the world,
Eloquence! . . . (Warmington II, 233.)

NOTES:

Cited by Cicero, *de orat.* II 44, 187; *Tusc. disp.* II 21, 47 (though Warmington calls the latter into question); and Quintilian I 12, 18.

30. Quaé tibi in concubió uerecunde ét modice morém gerit.
—Ennius, *Hecuba* (Ribbeck, p. 38).

A woman who as bed-mate grants your wishes
With shyness and restraint. . . . (Warmington I, 297.)

NOTES:

Resemblance to Euripides passage first pointed out by Turnebus.

31. Múlierem: quid pótius dicam aut uérius quam múlierem?
—Ennius, *Incerti nominis reliquiae* (Ribbeck, p. 72).

A woman! What better or truer term could I use than 'woman'? (Warmington I, 375.)

NOTES:

Although, as Ribbeck points out, sentiments like the foregoing are almost a commonplace in the Greek poets, they recur most frequently in Euripides, who is the most likely inspiration for similar sentiments in the Roman dramatists.

III. EURIPIDES: IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS (Latin imitations)

32. Graiúgena: de istoc áperit ipsa orátio.
—Pacuvius, *Ex incertis fabulis* (Ribbeck, p. 123).

Greek-born; so much at any rate my speech
Discloses. . . . (Warmington II, 311.)

NOTES:

Cited by Cicero, *de nat. deor.* II 36, 91.

33. . . .'Αργεῖαί τε νῦν
ὑμνοῦσιν ὑμεναίοισιν, αὐλεῖται δὲ πᾶν
μέλαθρον· . . .

—*Iphigenia in Tauris,* 366-368.

[My mother] . . . with Argive dames
Chanteth my marriage-hymn: through all the house
Flutes ring! . . .

34. . . . Ὦ γῆς Ἑλλάδος ναῦται, νεὼς
λάβεσθε κώπαις ῥόθιά τ' ἐκλευκαίνετε·

—*Iphigenia in Tauris,* 1386.

. . . Ye seamen of this Hellene ship,
Grip oars, and churn the swirling breakers white;

IV. Euripides: Phoenissae (Texts and translations)

35. Ὦ τὴν ἐν ἄστροις οὐρανοῦ τέμνων ὁδὸν
καὶ χρυσοκολλήτοισιν ἐμβεβὼς δίφροις
Ἥλιε, θοαῖς ἵπποισιν εἱλίσσων φλόγα,
ὡς δυστυχῆ Θήβαισι τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρᾳ
ἀκτῖν' ἐφῆκας, Κάδμος ἡνίκ' ἦλθε γῆν
τήνδ', ἐκλιπὼν Φοίνισσαν ἐναλίαν χθόνα·

—*Phoenissae,* 1-6.

O thou who cleav'st thy path mid heaven's stars,
Who ridest on thy chariot golden-clamped,
Sun, whirling on with flying steeds thy fire,
What beams accurst on that day sheddest thou
O'er Thebes, when Kadmus came to this our land,
Leaving Phoenicia's sea-fringed realm afar!

33. . . . hymenaeúm fremunt
Aequáles, aula résonit crepitu músico.
—Pacuvius, *Dulorestes* (Ribbeck, p. 91).

. . . "God of Weddings!" shout her fellow-maidens,
The air resounds with blare of music.
or
. . . Her fellow-maidens shout a wedding song,
The air resounds with blare of music. (Warmington II, 209.)

34. . . . quid cessátis, socii, eícere spiras spárteas!
—Pacuvius, *Ex incertis fabulis* (Ribbeck, p. 128).

. . . Comrades, be you not slow to cast overboard
The coils of twisted broom. (Warmington II, 193.)

IV. Euripides: Phoenissae (Latin imitations)

35. Sol quí micantem cándido curru átque equis
Flammám citatis féruido ardore éxplicas,
Quianám tam aduerso augúrio et inimico ómine
Tebís radiatum lúmen ostentás tuum—?
—Accius, *Phoenissae* (Ribbeck, pp. 211-212).

O Sun, who on your white-hot chariot
And rushing horses twinkling flames unfurl
In glowing heat, why come with augury
Ill-boding thus, with omen so unfriendly
The beams of light which you display to Thebes?
(Warmington II, 525.)

Notes:
Cited by Apuleius, *Florida* II, 10.

36. καὶ σὺ τῶνδ' ἔξω κομίζου τειχέων, ἢ κατθανῇ.
—*Phoenissae,* 593.

And, for thee, thou get forth these walls, ere
death shall light on thee.

37. καὶ σύ, Φοῖβ' ἄναξ Ἀγυιεῦ, καὶ μέλαθρα, χαίρετε,
ἥλικες τοὐμοί, θεῶν τε δεξίμηλ' ἀγάλματα.
—*Phoenissae,* 631-632.

Farewell, Phoebus, Highway-King, O palace-bowers, farewell ye!
Friends of youth, farewell, and statues of the Gods where sheep are slain!

38. . . . οὔτε γὰρ γέρα πατρὶ
οὔτ' ἔξοδον διδόντες, ἄνδρα δυστυχῆ
ἐξηγρίωσαν·
—*Phoenissae,* 874-876.

. . . vouchsafing to their sire
Nor honour nor free air, they stung to fury
His misery:

39. σὺ δ' ἐνθάδ' ἡμῖν λοιπὸς εἶ σπαρτῶν γένους
ἀκέραιος.
—*Phoenissae,* 942-943.

And sole survivor art thou of the Sown
Of pure blood both on sire's and mother's side.

36. Egredere exi ecfér te, elimina úrbe! . . .
—Accius, *Phoenissae* (Ribbeck, p. 213).

Go forth! Go out! Get you gone! Outdoors with you from the city! (Warmington II, 527.)

NOTES:
Lange suggested that Cicero had these words in mind when pronouncing the *First Catilinarian.*

37. Delúbra caelitum, árae, sanctitúdines!
—Accius, *Phoenissae* (Ribbeck, p. 213.)

You temples of the holy gods, you altars
You holy places. . . . (Warmington II, 527.)

38. Incúsant ultro, a fórtuna opibusque ómnibus
Desértum abiectum afflíctum exanimum expéctorant.
—Accius, *Phoenissae* (Ribbeck, p. 213).

Of their own will they impeach, of all his goods
And riches they unbosom him, downcast
Forlorn, distressed, disheartened. (Warmington II, 529.)

39. Ab dracontis stírpe armata exórtus genere antíquior.
—Accius, *Phoenissae* (Ribbeck, p. 213).

. . . by birth a better man
Sprung from the dragon's armoured stock.
(Warmington II, 529.)

40. σαφῶς γὰρ εἶπε Τειρεσίας οὐ μή ποτε
σοῦ τήνδε γῆν οἰκοῦντος εὖ πράξειν πόλιν.
ἀλλ' ἐκκομίζου.

—*Phoenissae,* 1590-1592.

For plainly spake Teiresias—never Thebes
Shall prosper while thou dwellest in the land.
Then get thee forth: . . .

V. Euripides: Bacchae (Texts and translations)

41. καὶ πᾶν τὸ θῆλυ σπέρμα Καδμείων, ὅσαι
γυναῖκες ἦσαν, ἐξέμηνα δωμάτων·
ὁμοῦ δὲ Κάδμου παισὶν ἀναμεμειγμέναι . . .

—*Bacchae,* 35-37.

And all the woman-seed of Kadmus' folk,
Yea all, I drave forth raving from their homes
And, mingled with the sons of Kadmus, . . .

42. οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην μέγεθος ἐξειπεῖν ὅσος
καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ἔσται.

—*Bacchae,* 273-274.

I cannot speak the greatness whereunto
In Hellas he shall rise.

43. ἔτ' αὐτὸν ὄψῃ κἀπὶ Δελφίσιν πέτραις
πηδῶντα σὺν πεύκαισι δικόρυφον πλάκα, . . .

—*Bacchae,* 306-307.

Yet shalt thou see him even on Delphi's crags
With pine-brands leaping o'er the cloven crest. . . .

40. Iussít proficisci exílium quouis géntium,
Ne scélere tuo Thebáni uastescánt agri.
—Accius, *Phoenissae* (Ribbeck, p. 214).

He has ordained you go to banishment
Where in the world you will, that by your crime
The fields of Thebes may waste not. (Warmington II, 531.)

V. Euripides: Bacchae (Latin imitations)

41. Deinde ómni stirpe cum íncluta Cadméide
Vagánt matronae pércitatae insánia.
—Accius, *Bacchae* (Ribbeck, p. 167).

. . . Then roam the matrons one and all
With Cadmus' stock, his most renowned daughter,
Shocked through and through with madness.
(Warmington II, 393.)

Notes:
Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by Boeckh, *de trag. gr. princ.* p. 313.

42. . . . neque sat fíngi neque dicí potest
Pro mágnitate.
—Accius, *Bacchae* (Ribbeck, p. 168).

For a man could not invent or say enough
To match his bigness. (Warmington II, 397.)

43. Laétum in Parnaso ínter pinos trípudiantem in círculis
Lúdere . . . átque taedis fúlgere.
—Accius, *Bacchae* (Ribbeck, p. 168).

You will see him glowing in a sport of torches,
Capering happily in ring-dances
Amongst the pines on Parnassus. (Warmington II, 397.)

Notes:
Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by Scaliger, *Coni.* p. 87.

44. ὁ θὴρ δ' ὅδ' ἡμῖν πρᾶος οὐδ' ὑπέσπασεν
φυγῇ πόδ', ἀλλ' ἔδωκεν οὐκ ἄκων χέρας
οὐδ' ὠχρός, ἤλλαξεν οἰνωπὸν γένυν,
γελῶν δὲ καὶ δεῖν κἀπάγειν ἐφίετο.
—*Bacchae,* 436-439.

This wild-beast found we tame: he darted not
In flight away, but yielded, nothing loth,
His hands, nor paled, nor changed his cheeks' rose-hue,
But smiling bade us bind and lead him thence.

45. ἀτὰρ τὸ μὲν σῶμ' οὐκ ἄμορφος εἶ, ξένε, . . .
—*Bacchae,* 453.

Ha! of thy form thou art not ill-favoured, stranger, . . .

46. πλόκαμός τε γάρ σου ταναός, οὐ πάλης ὕπο,
γένυν παρ' αὐτὴν κεχυμένος, . . .
—*Bacchae,* 455-456.

No wrestler thou, as show thy flowing locks,
Down thy cheeks floating, . . .

47. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν καθεῖσαν εἰς ὤμους κόμας
νεβρίδας τ' ἀνεστείλανθ' ὅσαισιν ἀμμάτων
σύνδεσμ' ἐλέλυτο, καὶ καταστίκτους δορὰς
ὄφεσι κατεζώσαντο λιχμῶσιν γένυν.
—*Bacchae,* 695-698.

First down their shoulders let they stream their hair:
Then looped they up their fawnskins,—they whose bands
Had fallen loose,—and girt the dappled fells
Round them with snakes that licked their cheek the while.

44. . . . praesens praésto irridens [léniter]
Nobís stupe[factis sése] ultro ostentum óbtulit.
—Accius, *Bacchae* (Ribbeck, p. 169).

In person then and there he showed himself,
And, smiling gently, of his own free will,
Offered himself to us astonished men.
(Warmington II, 399.)

NOTES:
Resemblance to Euripides passage pointed out by O. Mueller.

45. Formaé figurae nítiditatem, hospés, geris.
—Accius, *Bacchae* (Ribbeck, p. 169).

Neatness you bear in form and figure, stranger.
(Warmington II, 399.)

46. Nam flóri crines, uídeo, ei propessí iacent.
—Accius, *Bacchae* (Ribbeck, p. 169).

For flower-like are your locks of hair, I see,
And they lie forward combed. (Warmington II, 399.)

NOTES:
Resemblance to Euripides passage pointed out by Boeckh, *de trag. Gr. princ.* p. 312.

47. Tunc siluestrum exúuias laeuo píctas lateri accómmodant.
—Accius, *Bacchae* (Ribbeck, p. 169).

Then to left sides they fitted dappled strippings
Of woodland beasts. (Warmington II, 399.)

NOTES:
Resemblance to Euripides passage first pointed out by Boeckh.

VI. Euripides: Iphigenia in Aulis (Texts and translations)

48. τίς ποτ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀστὴρ ὅδε πορθμεύει;
Σείριος, ἐγγὺς τῆς ἑπταπόρου
Πλειάδος ᾄσσων ἔτι μεσσήρης.

—*Iphigenia in Aulis,* 6-8.

Ag. What star in the heaven's height yonder rideth?
O.S. Sirius: nigh to the Pleiads seven
He is sailing yet through the midst of heaven.

49. ἀλλ᾽ ἴθ᾽ ἐρέσσων σὸν πόδα, γήρᾳ
μηδὲν ὑπείκων.

—*Iphigenia in Aulis,* 137-138.

Speed thy foot, ancient, slacking nought
For eld.

VI. Euripides: Iphigenia in Aulis (Latin imitations)

48. Agamemno:
Quid nóctis uidetur in áltisono
Caelí clipeo?
Senex:
. . . superát temo
Stellás cogens etiam átque etiam
Noctís sublime iter.
—Ennius, *Iphigenia* (Ribbeck, pp. 38-39).
Agamemnon:
What is it I see upon heaven's high-sounding shield of night?
Old Servant:
The Wain, driving on and on through night's lofty course, surmounts the stars. (Warmington I, 301. Warmington points out that the latest critical edition of Ennius by Vahlen, attributes all four lines to Agamemnon.)

Notes:

Resemblance to Euripides passage first pointed out by Scaliger. Quoted by Apuleius, *de deo Socr.*, 2.

49. Procéde, gradum proférre pedum
Nitére, cessas, o fíde. . . ?
—Ennius, *Iphigenia* (Ribbeck, p. 39).

Come hither, strive to put forward the support of your steps—you loiter,
O trusty one. . . . (Warmington I, 301.)

Notes:

Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by Scaliger. Warmington, however, refers the lines to the Prologue.
Cicero, *Tusc. disp.* III 34, 57, refers to a similar passage, but it is not clear whether he had in mind this or the corresponding passage of Euripides.

50. ἡ δυσγέναια δ' ὡς ἔχει τι χρήσιμον.
καὶ γὰρ δακρῦσαι ῥαδίως αὐτοῖς ἔχει,
ἅπαντά τ' εἰπεῖν. τῷ δὲ γενναίῳ φύσιν
ἄνολβα ταῦτα.

—*Iphigenia in Aulis,* 446-449.

Lo now, what vantage cleaves to lowly birth!
For such may lightly ease their hearts with tears,
And tell out all their grief. The same pangs touch
The high-born; . . .

51. ὦ σέβας ἐμοὶ μέγιστον, Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ,
ἥκομεν, ἐφετμαῖς οὐκ ἀπιστοῦσαι σέθεν.

—*Iphigenia in Aulis,* 633-634.

O most of me revered, Agamemnon King,
We come, obedient unto thy behest.

52. πικροὺς δὲ προχύτας χέρνιβάς τ' ἀνάξεται
Κάλχας ὁ μάντις. τίς δὲ μάντις ἔστ' ἀνήρ,
ὃς ὀλίγ' ἀληθῆ, πολλὰ δὲ ψευδῆ λέγει
τυχών, ὅταν δὲ μὴ τύχῃ, διοίχεται;

—*Iphigenia in Aulis,* 955-958.

His meal, his laver-drops of sacrifice,
Kalchas the seer shall rue! What is a seer?
A man who speaks few truths, but many lies,
When his shafts hit, —whose ill shots ruin him.

50. Plebés in hoc regi ántistat locó: licet
Lacrumáre plebi, régi honeste nón licet.
—Ennius, *Iphigenia* (Ribbeck, p. 42).

The commoners stand better than their king
In this—the commoner may weep, the king
May not, with honour. (Warmington I, 305.)

NOTES:
Cited by Jerome, *Epitaph. Nepotiani.*
Recognized by Columna as a briefer version of Euripides' lines.

51. Póstquam abs té, Agamemnon, út uenirem tétigit aures núntius,
Extemplo.
—*Ex incertis incertorum fabulis* (Ribbeck, p. 237).

So soon as tidings from you, that I was to come, reached my ears, Agamemnon,
I forthwith . . . (Warmington I, 307.)

NOTES:
Cited by Cicero, *ad Att.* XIII 47, 1.
Ladevicus, *Anal. scen.* p. 15, notes resemblance to Euripides passage.

52. Astrologorum sígna in caelo quaésit obseruát, Iouis
Cúm capra aut nepa aút exoritur mómen aliquod béluae.
Quód est ante pedes, noénu spectant: caéli scrutantúr plagas.
—Ennius, *Iphigenia* (Ribbeck, p. 42).

. . . what a peering there is at the star-readers' constellations in the sky; when the She-goat or the Scorpion rises, or some such name chosen from the beasts, no man looks at what is before his feet; one and all scan the stretches of the sky. (Warmington I, 311).

NOTES:
Cited by Cicero, *de div.* II 13, 30; *de rep.* I 18, 30; Seneca, *de morte Claudi* 8.
Resemblance to Euripides passage first pointed out by Ribbeck.

53. κατθανεῖν μέν μοι δέδοκται·

—*Iphigenia in Aulis,* 1375.

Lo, resolved am I to die; . . .

VII. Euripides: Rhesus (texts and translations)

54. ἀὼς δὴ πέλας, ἀὼς
γίγνεται . . .

—*Rhesus,* 535-536.

. . . for the dawning is near, is near.

VIII. Euripides: Fragments (texts and translations)

55. μισῶ σοφὸν ὄντ' ἐν λόγοισιν, ἐς δ' ὄνησιν οὐ σοφόν.

—*Fragments,* 62 N.

I loathe a man wise of speech, while his wisdom serves no no useful purpose.

53. Acherontem obibo, ubi mórtis thesauri óbiacent.
—Ennius, *Iphigenia* (Ribbeck, p. 43).

I shall go to meet Acheron, where the treasures of Death lie in my way. (Warmington I, 311.)

NOTES:
Resemblance to Euripides passage pointed out by Hermann.

VII. EURIPIDES: RHESUS (Latin imitations)

54. Iamque Aúroram rutiláre procul
Cerno.
Accius, *Ex incertis fabulis* (Ribbeck, p. 223).

. . . and now I see daybreak reddening far off. (Warmington II, 567.)

NOTES:
Quoted by Varro, *de l. L.* VII, 83 M.
Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by Vater.

VIII. EURIPIDES: FRAGMENTS (Latin imitations)

55. Odi ego homines ignaua opera et philosopha sententia.
—Pacuvius, *Ex incertis fabulis* (Ribbeck, p. 121).

I hate all men engaged in wicked works
And sermons philosophical. (Warmington II, 165.)

NOTES:
Cited by Aulus Gellius, XIII, 8.
Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by Hartung (*Eur. rest.* II, 420).

56. ὦ νὺξ ἱερά,
ὡς μακρὸν ἵππευμα διώκεις
ἀστεροειδέα νῶτα διφρεύουσ'
αἰθέρος ἱρᾶς
τοῦ σεμνοτάτου δι' Ὀλύμπου.
—*Fragments,* 114 N.

O sacred night
How far and wide the course thou dost drive
Seated on the starry-studded back
of holy aether
(Steering thy course) through awesome Olympus.

57. ἔπειτα τέκνα τοῦδ' ἕκατι τίκτομεν
ὡς θεῶν βωμοὺς πατρίδα τε ῥυώμεθα.
—*Fragments,* 262 N. (*Erechtheus*).

And then we beget children for this reason:
To protect the gods' altars and our native land.

58. οὐκ ἂν δύναιο μὴ καμὼν εὐδαιμονεῖν,
αἰσχρόν τε μοχθεῖν μὴ θέλειν νεανίαν
—*Fragments* 464 N. (*Cretan Women*).

You would not be able to enjoy prosperity without toiling (for it)
And it is dishonorable for a young man not to be willing to labor.

. . . εἰ δ' ἄτερ πόνων
δοκεῖς ἔσεσθαι, μῶρος εἶ, θνητὸς γεγώς.
—*Fragments,* 396 N. (*Thyestes*).

. . . but if without toils
you think you'll amount to something,—mortal that you are,—you're a fool.

56. . . . quae cáusa caeli
signitentibus conficis bigis
—Ennius, *Andromeda* (Ribbeck, p. 27).

O hallowed night, you who pass over all the hollow of the heaven with your star-spangled chariot and team of two . . . (Warmington I, 257.)

NOTES:
Cited by Varro, *de l. L.* V, 19 M.
Resemblance to Euripides passage noted by Scaliger.

57. . . . út uos uostri líberi
Défendant, pro uóstra uita mórti occumbant óbuiam.
—Ennius, *Incerti nominis fabulae* (Ribbeck, p. 71).
. . . that your children may
defend you, let them fall in the face of death in behalf of your life.
But Warmington (I, 267) reading 'nos':
. . . that our children shield us,
And fall in death's way for our own lives' sake.
NOTES:
Resemblance to Euripides passage remarked by Ribbeck.

58. Id quod multi inuídeant multique éxpetant inscítiast
Póstulare, nísi laborem súmma cum cura écferas.
—Accius, *Atreus* (Ribbeck, p. 164.)

. . . To demand is foolishness
What many men do envy, many covet,
Unless you carry out the troublesome task
With greatest diligence. (Warmington II, 387.)

59. ὦ γῆς πατρώας χαῖρε φίλτατον πεδὸν
Καλυδῶνος . . .

—*Fragments,* 562 N. (*Oeneus*).

Hail! Most friendly soil of my ancestral land,
Calydon . . .

60. πτώχ' ἀμφίβληστρα σώματος λαβὼν ῥάκη
ἀρκτήρια τύχης . . .

—*Fragments,* 698 N. (*Telephus*).

By picking up poor rags to wrap about my body
Rags to save me from my fate . . .

61. μή μοι φθονήσητ', ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνων ἄκροι,
εἰ πτωχὸς ὢν τέτληκ' ἐν ἐσθλοῖσιν λέγειν.

—*Fragments,* 701 N. (*Telephus*).

Do not think ill of me, heroes supreme among the Greeks,
If, though I am poor, I make bold to speak among nobles.

62. κακῶς ὀλοίατ'· ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι.

—*Fragments,* 718 N. (*Telephus*).

May he perish miserably. 'Tis good for Greece.

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59. Calídonia altrix térra exuperantúm uirum
—Pacuvius, *Ex incertis fabulis* (Ribbeck, p. 132).

You land of Calydon, a nurse of men
Who are surpassing great. (Warmington II, 275.)

NOTES:
Cited by Varro, *de l. L.* VII, 18 M.
Resemblance to Euripides passage first pointed out by Ribbeck.

60. Caédem caueo [hoc] cúm uestitu, squálida saeptús stola.
—Ennius, *Telephus* (Ribbeck, p. 56).

Slaughter avoid I by this garb, wrapped up
In a mean shabby coat. (Warmington I, 343.)

61. Palám mutire plébeio piáculum est.
—Ennius, *Telephus* (Ribbeck, p. 56).

It is a sin for commoner to mutter
A word in open gathering. (Warmington I, 345.)

NOTES:
Phaedrus III, *epil.* 34, refers to this passage or to its Greek original.
Resemblance to Euripides passage first pointed out by Welcker.

62. . . . qui illum dí deaeque mágno mactassínt malo.
—Ennius, *Telephus* (Ribbeck, p. 57).

What! May the gods and goddesses doom him
To dire damnation! (Warmington I, 345.)

63. μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐχ αὑτῷ σοφός.
—*Fragments,* 897 N.

I have no use for a wise man who is unwise to himself.

64. ὁρᾶς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα
καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;
τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.
—*Fragments,* 935 N.

See you this ether on high, boundless, embracing earth in its pliant arms? This you shall believe is Zeus: this shall you think is a god.

63. Qui ípse sibi sapiéns prodesse nón quit, nequiqúam sapit.
—Ennius, *Medea Exul* (Ribbeck, p. 50).

He who, though wise himself, cannot help himself, is wise in vain (Warmington I, 317.)

NOTES:
Cited by Cicero, *ad famil.* VII, 6; *de off.* III, 15, 62.

64. Aspice hoc sublímen candens, quem ínuocant omnés Iouem.
—Ennius, *Thyestes* (Ribbeck, p. 58).

Look you on this that glows white aloft; all men call on it as 'Jupiter'. (Warmington I, 349.)

Cited by Cicero, *de nat. deor.* II 2, 4; 25, 65; III 4, 10; 16, 40. Apuleius, *de mundo* 33.

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